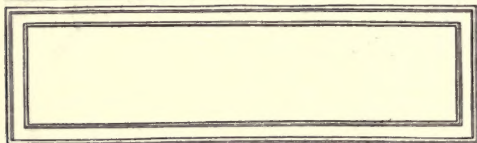
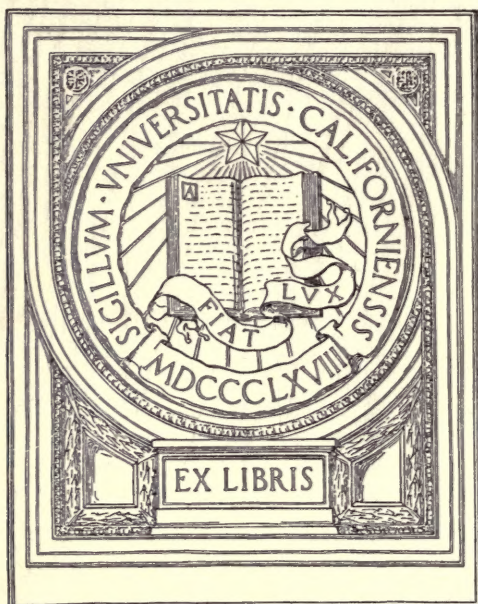
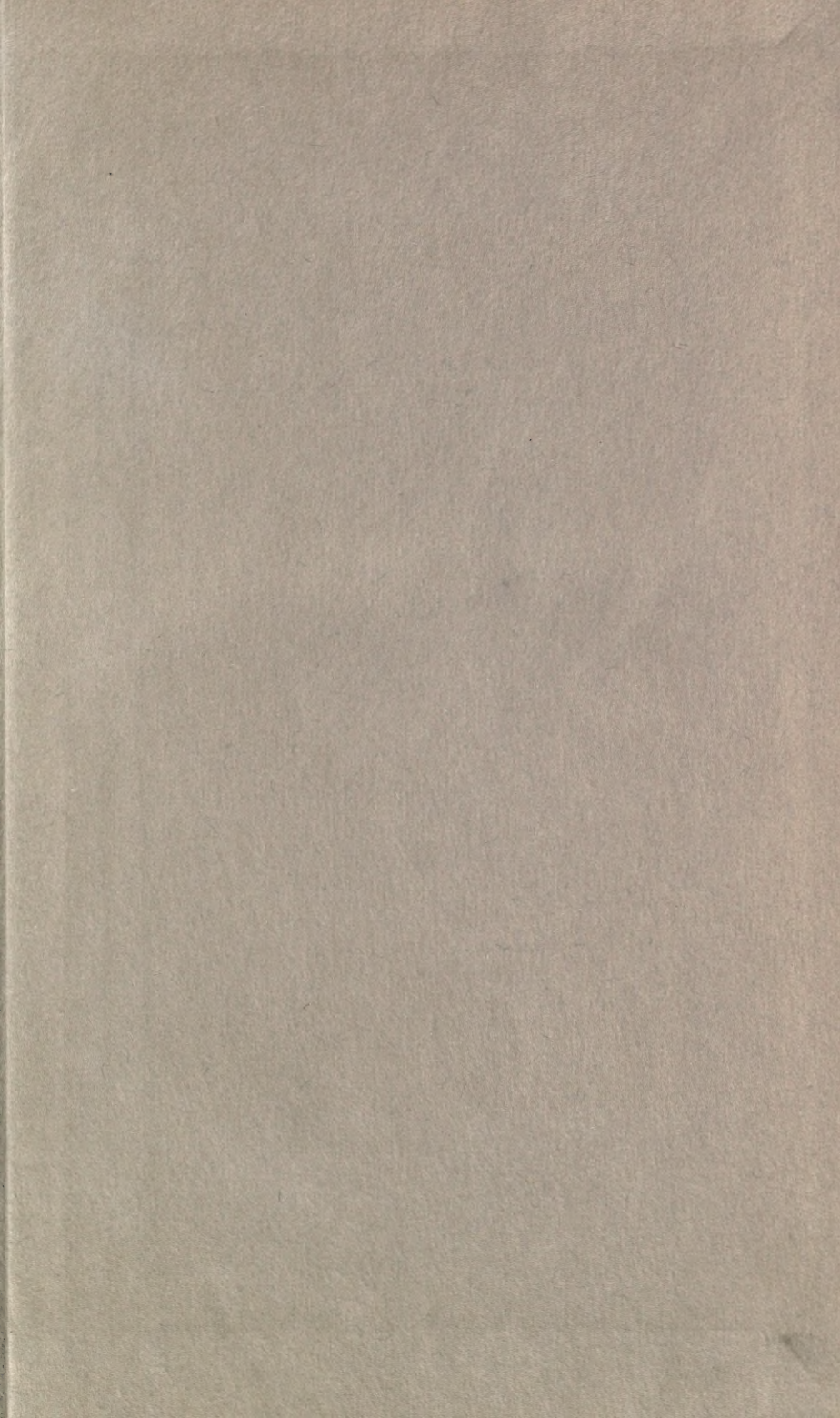


UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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MARTHA WASHINGTON.

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THE
L I F E
OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES,
AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
HIS DIARIES AND SPEECHES;
AND
VARIOUS MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS
RELATING TO
HIS HABITS & OPINIONS.

BY JARED SPARKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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L I F E

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XVI.

He receives official Notice of being chosen President.—His Journey to the Seat of Government at New York.—His Oath of Office and Inaugural Speech.—Acquaints himself with the State of Public Affairs.—His attention to his private Pursuits.—His manner of receiving Visits and entertaining Company.—Afflicted with a severe Illness.—Death of his Mother.—Executive Departments formed, and the Officers appointed.—Judiciary System organized.—Washington's Opinion of the Supreme Court.—His Rule in Appointments to Office.

It being known that the choice of the people had fallen on General Washington for President, he made preparations to begin the duties of the office as soon as his election should be notified to him by the proper authority. The 4th of March was assigned as the day for the meeting of Congress, but a quorum did not come together till a month later. The votes of the electors were then opened and counted; and a special messenger was dispatched to Mount Vernon with a letter from the President of the Senate to General Washington, conveying official intelligence of his election. John Adams was at the same time declared to be chosen Vice-President of the United States. Two days after receiving the notification, Washington left home for New York, which was then the seat of Congress.

His feelings on this occasion are indicated in the following extract from his Diary; written on the day of his departure. "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." The whole journey was a kind of triumphal procession. He had hardly left his own house, when he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who proceeded with him to that town, where an entertainment was provided for him, and where he received and answered a public address. The people gathered to see him as he passed along the road. When he approached the several towns, the most respectable citizens came out to meet and welcome him; he was escorted from place to place by companies of militia; and in the principal cities his presence was announced by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and military display.

A committee of Congress, consisting of three members of the Senate and five of the House of Representatives, was appointed to meet him in New Jersey and attend him to the city of New York. To Elizabeth-town Point came many other persons of distinction, and the heads of the several departments of government. He was there received in a barge, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. This was followed by vessels and boats, fancifully decorated, and crowded with spectators. When the President's barge came near to the city, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from

the vessels in the harbour, and from the Battery. At the landing he was again saluted by a discharge of artillery, and was joined by the governor and other officers of the State, and the corporation of the city. A procession was then formed, headed by a long military train, which was followed by the principal officers of the State and city, the clergy, foreign ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. The procession advanced to the house prepared for the reception of the President. The day was passed in festivity and joy, and in the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated.

The first public act of the President was that of taking the oath of office. It was decided by Congress that this should be done with some ceremony. In the morning of the day appointed (April 30th), at nine o'clock, religious services suited to the occasion were performed in all the churches of the city. At twelve, the troops paraded before the President's door, and soon afterwards came the committees of Congress and the heads of departments in carriages, to attend him to the Federal Hall, where the two houses of Congress were assembled. The procession moved forward with the troops in front, next the committees and heads of departments, then the President in a coach alone, followed by the foreign ministers, civil officers of the state, and citizens. Arrived at the Hall, he ascended to the senate-chamber, and passed thence to a balcony in front of the house, where the oath was administered to him in presence of the people by Chancellor Livingston. The President returned to the senate-chamber, in the midst of loud acclamations from the surrounding throng of spectators, and delivered to the two branches of Congress his Inaugural Speech. He then went on foot to St. Paul's church,

where prayers were read by the bishop, and the ceremonies were closed. Tokens of joy were everywhere exhibited, as on the day of his arrival, and at night there was a display of illuminations and fireworks.

Under auspices thus favourable, Washington entered again upon the career of public life, surrounded and sustained by the eminent leaders who had acted with him in establishing the liberties of his country, and cheered with the conviction of having received the voluntary suffrage, and possessing the good wishes, of every American citizen. Yet he was aware, that the task he had undertaken was one of no common responsibility or easy execution. The hopes and expectations of his countrymen he knew were in proportion to the unanimity with which they had crowned him with honours, and laid the burden of their public cares on his shoulders. A new system of government was to be put in action, upon which depended the destiny of his country, and with the good or ill success of which his future reputation would be identified.

In his inaugural speech, after expressing his deep sense of the magnitude of the trust confided to him, the struggles his mind had undergone in deciding to accept it, and a consciousness of his deficiencies, he added—"In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in accepting this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the mo-

tives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated." With these sentiments, and with fervent supplications to the Almighty Being, whose guidance and overruling Providence he acknowledged in all the events of his life, he commenced the arduous duties of chief magistrate of the nation. In conformity with the rule to which he had hitherto adhered, he gave notice to Congress that he should accept no other compensation for his services than such as would be necessary to defray the expenses of his household, and other charges incident to his public station.

As the various departments of government under the new system could not be instituted till Congress had passed laws for their organization and support, the business belonging to these departments continued to be transacted by the officers who had previously been charged with it. Mr. Jay acted as secretary of foreign affairs, and General Knox as secretary of war. The treasury was under the control of a board of commissioners. The President requested from each of them an elaborate report, that he might become acquainted with the actual state of the government in all its foreign and domestic relations. These reports he read and condensed with his own hand, particularly that from the treasury board, till he made himself master of their contents. In regard to foreign affairs, he pursued a still more laborious process. With pen in hand he perused from beginning to end the official correspondence, deposited in the public archives, from the date of the treaty of peace at the termination of the war till the time he entered upon the Presidency. These voluminous papers he abridged and studied, according to his usual practice, with the

view of fixing in his mind every important point that had been discussed, as well as the history of what had been done.

Among the private reasons which had disinclined him to leave his retirement at Mount Vernon, were his growing attachment to agriculture, and his desire to pursue the system adopted for the cultivation of his farms. Since the war, he had devoted himself with equal delight and constancy to this pursuit, and brought his plan into a train, which promised the most satisfactory results. He had procured from Europe the works of the best writers on the subject, which he read with diligence and reflection, drawing from them such scientific principles and practical hints as he could advantageously use in improving his modes of agriculture. He was resolved to mature his designs, and in the intervals of public duties to bestow a part of his leisure upon that object. With his chief manager at Mount Vernon he left full and minute directions in writing, and exacted from him a weekly report, in which were registered the transactions of each day on all the farms, such as the number of labourers employed, their health or sickness, the kind and quantity of work executed, the progress in planting, sowing, or harvesting the fields, the appearance of the crops at various stages of their growth, the effects of the weather on them, and the condition of the horses, cattle, and other live stock. By these details he was made perfectly acquainted with all that was done, and could give his orders with almost as much precision as if he had been on the spot.

Once a week regularly, and sometimes twice, he wrote to the manager, remarking on his report of the preceding week, and adding new directions. These

letters frequently extended to two or three sheets, and were always written with his own hand. Such was his laborious exactness, that the letter he sent away was usually transcribed from a rough draft. A press copy was taken of the transcript, which was carefully filed with the manager's report for his future inspection. In this habit he persevered with unabated diligence through the whole eight years of his Presidency, except during the short visits he occasionally made to Mount Vernon, at the close of the sessions of Congress, when his presence could be dispensed with at the seat of government. He moreover maintained a large correspondence on agriculture with gentlemen in Europe and America. His letters to Sir John Sinclair, Arthur Young, and Dr. Anderson, have been published, and are well known. Indeed, his thoughts never seemed to flow more freely, nor his pen to move more easily, than when he was writing on agriculture, extolling it as a most attractive pursuit, and describing the pleasure he derived from it, and its superior claims, not only on the practical economist, but on the statesman and philanthropist.

The President had not been long in New York before he found it necessary to establish rules for receiving visitors and entertaining company. There being no precedent to serve as a guide, this was an affair of considerable delicacy and difficulty. In the first place, it was essential to maintain the dignity of the office by such forms as would inspire deference and respect; and, at the same time, the nature of republican institutions and the habits of the people required the chief magistrate to be accessible to every citizen on proper occasions and for reasonable purposes. A just line was therefore to be drawn between too much pomp

and ceremony on the one hand, and an extreme of familiarity on the other. Regard was also to be had to the President's time and convenience. After a short experiment of leaving the matter to the discretion of the public, it was proved, that without some fixed rule he would never have an hour at his disposal. From breakfast till dinner his door was besieged with persons calling to pay their respects, or to consult him on affairs of little moment. His sense of duty to the claims of his office, and to himself, convinced him that this practice could not be endured. The Vice-President, Mr. Jay, Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton, and other gentlemen, concurred in this opinion, and by their advice a different mode was adopted.

Every Tuesday, between the hours of three and four, he was prepared to receive such persons as chose to call. Foreign ministers, strangers of distinction, and citizens, came and went without ceremony. The hour was passed in free conversation on promiscuous topics, in which the President joined. Every Friday afternoon, the rooms were open in like manner for visits to Mrs. Washington, which were on a still more sociable footing, and at which General Washington was always present. These assemblages were in the nature of public levees, and they did not preclude such visits of civility and friendship, between the President's family and others, as is customary in society. On affairs of business by appointment, whether with public officers or private citizens, the President was always ready to bestow his time and attention. He accepted no invitations to dinner, but invited to his own table foreign ministers, officers of the government, and strangers, in such numbers at once as his domestic establishment would accommodate. On these occasions there was

neither ostentation nor restraint, but the same simplicity and ease with which his guests had been entertained at Mount Vernon.

No visits were received on Sundays. In the morning he uniformly attended church, and in the afternoon he retired to his private apartment. The evening was spent with his family, and then an intimate friend would sometimes call, but promiscuous company was not admitted.*

Having laid down these general rules, which soon became known to the public, he found relief from a heavy tax upon his time, and more leisure for a faithful discharge of his duties. In the course of the summer, however, he was seized with a violent malady, which reduced him very low, and which for a few days was thought to endanger his life. He was confined six weeks to his bed, and it was more than twelve before his strength was restored. A constitution naturally strong, and the attendance of Dr. Bard, a physician equally eminent for the excellence of his character and skill in his profession, enabled him to rise from an illness the most painful and trying that he had ever endured. From the effects of it he never entirely recovered.

He had hardly gained strength to go abroad, when he heard of the death of his mother, who died in August, at the age of eighty-two. Writing to his sister on this occasion, he said, "Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing, that Heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favoured her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and a hope that she is translated

* See "Religious Opinions and Habits of Washington."

to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator." A short time before he left Mount Vernon for New York, he made a visit to his mother at Fredericksburg, the place of her residence. She was then sinking under a disease, which he foresaw would prove fatal; and he took an affecting and final leave of her, convinced he should never see her again. She had been a widow forty-six years. Through life she was remarkable for vigour of mind and body, simplicity of manners, and uprightness of character. She must have felt a mother's joy at the success and renown of her son, but they caused no change in her deportment or style of living. Whenever he visited her at her dwelling, even in the height of his greatness, he literally returned to the scenes and domestic habits of his boyhood. Neither pride nor vanity mingled with the feelings excited by the attentions she received as the mother of Washington. She listened to his praises and was silent, or added only that he had been a good son, and she believed he had done his duty as a man.

As soon as he was established in his office, Washington introduced strict habits of economy into his household, which were preserved without essential change to the end of his public life. The whole was under the care of a steward, to whom he gave general directions. All other persons connected with the establishment were accountable to the steward, but each of them was required to keep an exact record of the purchases and expenditures made by him, specifying every particular. These accounts, with tradesmen's bills and other vouchers, were presented once a week to Washington, who inspected them minutely, and certified with his own signature that they were approved. By this method he was enabled to ascer-

tain at any moment the precise state of his pecuniary affairs, and to guard against extravagance and waste. He might say, with Seneca, “ I keep an account of my expenses ; I cannot affirm that I lose nothing, but I can tell you what I lose, and why, and in what manner.” The salary of the President, as fixed by law, was twenty-five thousand dollars a year. But with the most rigid economy his expenses were seldom within this limit, and he was of course obliged to draw on his private fortune to make up the deficiency.

Congress continued in Session till near the end of September, when they adjourned for three months. They had been mostly occupied in passing laws for the organization of government, the administration of justice, and the raising of a revenue. Mercantile regulations were established, imposing duties on tonnage and imported goods. Amendments to the constitution were framed, and recommended to the States for adoption. Three executive departments were formed, at the head of each of which was to be a secretary,—namely, the departments of foreign affairs, of the treasury, and of war. The first was afterwards called the department of state, and included both foreign and domestic affairs. So large a portion of the administration of government is effected by the executives of the several States, that a separate department for internal affairs was not thought necessary. The navy, too, was at this time so small, as not to require a distinct department. It was mainly in the charge of the secretary of war.

The requisite laws being passed, it next devolved on the President to select proper persons to fill the several offices. In regard to the executive departments, this was of very great importance, inasmuch as the secretaries were not only to discharge the duties

assigned to them by the constitution and laws, but were to be his cabinet, or council of state. On the wisdom of his choice, therefore, would in a great degree depend the character and success of his administration. So much time had elapsed in the session of Congress, that he had been able to take a full survey of the subject, and to decide with deliberation. Long experience in public affairs, a high political standing, and acknowledged talents, pointed out Thomas Jefferson as eminently qualified for the state department. He was about to return from France, where he had filled the office of minister plenipotentiary, as successor to Dr. Franklin, with much credit to himself and his country. Alexander Hamilton was appointed to the head of the treasury. His transcendent abilities, integrity, firmness, and patriotism, were well known to Washington, after a thorough trial and familiar acquaintance in the revolution; and they were scarcely less known or less appreciated by his countrymen at large. In the convention. Hamilton disapproved and opposed some of the principal articles of the constitution; and the more praise is due to him, that, after it was carried by a majority, and was proved to be the best that could be hoped for in the circumstances of the times, he gave up his predilections, joined heartily with its friends, and put into their scale the whole weight of his great powers of eloquence and argument, both in debate and by the use of his pen. Henry Knox was continued secretary of war, which station he had held under the confederation. As an officer, a man, and a friend, he was esteemed by Washington; and his steady principles and public services had gained for him a general confidence. The post of attorney-general was conferred on Edmund Randolph, a gentleman distinguished by

success in his profession at the bar, and by having been governor of Virginia, and a conspicuous member of the convention that framed the constitution. Such were the heads of the executive departments, and such the composition of the council, on which the President was mainly to rely for advice and support.

For administering justice, in the execution of the laws for national purposes, the constitution had provided that there should be a supreme court, and such inferior courts as Congress should establish. In organizing the judiciary system, it was decided that the supreme court should consist of a chief justice and five associate justices, and that there should be district courts, with one judge in each State. An associate justice and a district judge constituted a circuit court. Washington's opinion of the importance of the supreme court is forcibly described in his own language. "Impressed with a conviction," said he, "that the due administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of the country, and to the stability of its political system. Hence the selection of the fittest characters to expound the laws and dispense justice has been an invariable object of my anxious concern." And again, in giving notice to Mr. Jay of his appointment as chief justice: "I have a full confidence that the love which you bear to our country, and a desire to promote the general happiness, will not suffer you to hesitate a moment to bring into action the talents, knowledge, and integrity, which are so necessary to be exercised at the head of that department which must be considered the key-stone of our political fabric." These views of the judiciary department, as forming a most essential branch of the government,

and as claiming the highest consideration, he always entertained; and in the appointment of justices, and judges of the district courts, he was extremely solicitous to secure the services of those who were eminent for judicial knowledge, talents, personal worth, and experience. In placing John Jay at the head of the supreme court, he consulted alike the public good, the dignity of the court, and his own feelings. No man in the nation possessed a larger share of confidence, whether in regard to his ability or his legal attainments; none was more valued for the services he had rendered to his country, none more esteemed for his private virtues. The choice of his associates was also fortunate, and the court assumed a respectability and weight suited to the rank conferred upon it by the constitution.

No part of the President's duties gave him more anxiety than that of distributing the offices in his gift. Applications innumerable flowed in upon him even before he left Mount Vernon, many of them from his personal friends, and others supported by the recommendations of his friends; nor did they cease as long as any vacancies remained. He early prescribed to himself a rule, however, from which he never swerved, which was, to give no pledges or encouragement to any applicant. He answered them all civilly, but avowed his determination to suspend a decision till the time of making the appointments should arrive, and then, without favour or bias, to select such individuals as in his judgment were best qualified to execute with faithfulness and ability the trust reposed in them. His sentiments and motives are well explained in a letter written to a gentleman, who had solicited an office for another person.

“ From the moment when the necessity had become

more apparent," said he, " and as it were inevitable, I anticipated, with a heart filled with distress, the ten thousand embarrassments, perplexities, and troubles, to which I must again be exposed in the evening of a life already nearly consumed in public cares. Among all these anxieties, I will not conceal from you I anticipated none greater than those that were likely to be produced by applications for appointments to the different offices which would be created under the new government. Nor will I conceal, that my apprehensions have already been but too well justified. Scarcely a day passes, in which applications of one kind or another do not arrive, insomuch that, had I not early adopted some general principles, I should before this time have been wholly occupied in this business. As it is, I have found the number of answers which I have been necessitated to give in my own hand an almost insupportable burden to me.

" The points in which all these answers have agreed in substance are, that, should it be my lot to go again into public office, I would go without being under any possible engagements of any nature whatsoever ; that, so far as I knew my own heart, I would not be in the remotest degree influenced, in making nominations, by motives arising from the ties of family or blood ; and that, on the other hand, three things, in my opinion, ought principally to be regarded,—namely, the fitness of characters to fill offices, the comparative claims from the former merits and sufferings in service of the different candidates, and the distribution of appointments in as equal a proportion as might be to persons belonging to the different States in the Union. Without precautions of this kind, I clearly foresaw the endless jealousies, and possibly the fatal consequences, to which a government, depending

altogether on the good-will of the people for its establishment, would certainly be exposed in its early stages. Besides, I thought, whatever the effect might be in pleasing or displeasing any individuals at the present moment, a due concern for my own reputation, not less decisively than a sacred regard to the interests of the community, required that I should hold myself absolutely at liberty to act, while in office, with a sole reference to justice and the public good."

In practice he verified these declarations, acting in every case with perfect independence, looking first to the national interests and next to the best means of promoting them, and admitting no other ground of preference between candidates, whose pretensions were in other respects equal, than that of former efforts or sacrifices in serving their country.

CHAPTER XVII.

His Journey through the Eastern States. — Letter from Mrs. Washington. — System of Funding the public Debts. — Place for the permanent Seat of Government agreed upon. — The President visits Rhode Island and Mount Vernon. — Foreign Relations of the United States. — France, England, Spain. — Indian War. — Washington's Policy respecting the Indians. — Congress meets at Philadelphia. — A National Bank established. — Tax on distilled Spirits. — The President's tour through the Southern States. — Apportionment Bill. — Parties and their Causes. — Dissensions between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. — Washington's attempts to reconcile them.

For some time it had been the President's intention in the recess of Congress to make a tour through the eastern States, as well for the re-establishment of his health as for observing the condition of the people, and the general disposition in regard to the new form of government. He anticipated pleasure also in reviewing the scenes of his first military campaign as Commander-in-chief, and in meeting the associates who had contributed to lessen his toils and invigorate his spirit in times of peril and despondency. About the middle of October he left New York, accompanied by his two secretaries, Mr. Lear and Mr. Jackson, and he was absent a month. He travelled in his own carriage, and proceeded by way of New Haven, Hartford, Worcester, Boston, Salem, and Newburyport, as far as Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. He returned by a different route through the interior of the country to Hartford, and thence to New York.

Such was the enthusiasm which was now felt by all classes of the community in regard to Washington—an enthusiasm inspired by his virtues and his fame, that it was impossible for him to move in any direction without drawing around him thousands of spectators,

eager to gratify their eyes with a sight of his person, to greet him with acclamations of joy, and to exhibit testimonies of their respect and veneration. Men, women, and children, people of all ranks, ages, and occupations, assembled from far and near at the crossings of the roads and other public places where it was known he would pass. Military escorts attended him on the way, and at the principal towns he was received and entertained by the civil authorities. Addresses were as usual presented to him by corporate bodies, religious societies, and literary institutions, to which he returned appropriate answers.

This journey was in all respects satisfactory to him, not more as furnishing proofs of the strong attachment of the people, than as convincing him of the growing prosperity of the country, and of the favour which the constitution and the administration of government were gaining in the public mind. He was happy to see that the effects of the war had almost disappeared; that agriculture was pursued with activity; that the harvests were abundant, manufactures increasing, the towns flourishing, and commerce becoming daily more extended and profitable. The condition of society, the progress of improvements, the success of industrious enterprise, all gave tokens of order, peace, and contentment, and a most cheering promise for the future.*

* The reader cannot fail to be interested in this place with an extract from a letter written by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Warren, soon after the President's return from his tour. So little remains which is known to have come from the pen of this lady, that it would be an act of injustice to her memory to withhold a specimen so creditable to her understanding, her heart, and her views of life, as the following, which is transcribed from the original :

“ Your very friendly letter of last month has afforded much more satisfaction than all the formal compliments and empty ceremonies of mere etiquette could possibly have done. I am not apt to forget the feelings which have been inspired by my former society with good acquaintances, nor to be

The time for the adjournment of Congress having expired, the two houses re-assembled in the first week of January. The President met them in the senate-chamber, and delivered his speech at the opening of the session. Such was the custom during Washington's administration ; but it was afterwards changed, and the President communicated with Congress only by written messages. This was likewise Washington's practice, except at the beginning of a session, when he addressed the two houses in person. These addresses were called *speeches*, and other communications were designated as *messages*. At this time, after congratulating Congress on the prosperous condition of the country, and the favour with which their previous doings had been received, he recommended several subjects as claiming their attention, particularly a provision for the common defence ; laws for natu-

insensible to their expressions of gratitude to the President ; for you know me well enough to do me the justice to believe that I am fond only of what comes from the heart. Under a conviction that the demonstrations of respect and affection to him originate in that source, I cannot deny that I have taken some interest and pleasure in them. The difficulties which presented themselves to view on his first entering upon the Presidency seem thus to be in some measure surmounted. It is owing to the kindness of our numerous friends in all quarters that my new and unwished-for situation is not, indeed, a burden to me. When I was much younger I should probably have enjoyed the innocent gaieties of life as much as most persons of my age ; but I had long since placed all the prospects of my future worldly happiness in the still enjoyments of the fireside at Mount Vernon.

" I little thought, when the war was finished, that any circumstances could possibly happen which would call the General into public life again. I had anticipated that from that moment we should be suffered to grow old together in solitude and tranquillity. That was the first and dearest wish of my heart. I will not, however, contemplate with too much regret disappointments that were inevitable, though his feelings and my own were in perfect unison with respect to our predilection for private life. Yet I cannot blame him for having acted according to his ideas of duty in obeying the voice of his country. The consciousness of having attempted to do all the good in his power, and the pleasure of finding his fellow-citizens so well satisfied with the disinterestedness of his conduct, will doubtless be some compensation for

ralizing foreigners ; a uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures ; the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures ; the promotion of science and literature ; and an effective system for the support of public credit.

To the difficulties involved in this last subject may indeed be traced the primary causes of the constitution, and it had already attracted the notice of the national legislature. The former session had necessarily been consumed in framing laws for putting the new government in operation ; but, a few days before its close, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, in which it was declared that an adequate provision for the support of public credit was essential to the national honour and prosperity ; and the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to prepare a plan for the pur-

the great sacrifices which I know he has made. Indeed, on his journey from Mount Vernon to this place, in his late tour through the eastern States, by every public and every private information which has come to him, I am persuaded he has experienced nothing to make him repent his having acted from what he conceived to be a sense of indispensable duty. On the contrary, all his sensibility has been awakened in receiving such repeated and unequivocal proofs of sincere regard from his countrymen.

“ With respect to myself, I sometimes think the arrangement is not quite as it ought to have been, that I, who had much rather be at home, should occupy a place with which a great many younger and gayer women would be extremely pleased. As my grandchildren and domestic connexions make up a great portion of the felicity which I looked for in this world, I shall hardly be able to find any substitute that will indemnify me for the loss of a part of such endearing society. I do not say this because I feel dissatisfied with my present station, for everybody and everything conspire to make me as contented as possible in it ; yet I have learned too much of the vanity of human affairs to expect felicity from the scenes of public life. I am still determined to be cheerful and happy in whatever situation I may be ; for I have also learned from experience that the greater part of our happiness or misery depends on our dispositions, and not on our circumstances. We carry the seeds of the one or the other about with us in our minds wherever we go.

“ I have two of my grandchildren with me, who enjoy advantages in point of education, and who, I trust, by the goodness of Providence, will be a great blessing to me. My other two grandchildren are with their mother in Virginia.”—*New York, December 26th, 1789.*

pose, and report it to the house at the next session. The national debt had its origin chiefly in the Revolution. It was of two kinds, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt amounted to nearly twelve millions of dollars, and was due to France, the Hollanders, and a very small part to Spain. The domestic debt, due to individuals in the United States for loans to the government and supplies furnished to the army, was about forty-two millions. These debts had been contracted by Congress, and were acknowledged to be a national charge. There was another description of debts, amounting by estimate to about twenty-five millions of dollars, which rested on a different footing. The States individually had constructed works of defence within their respective limits, advanced pay and bounties to continental troops and militia, and supplied provisions, clothing, and munitions of war. The secretary proposed, that all the domestic debts, including those of the particular states, should be funded; and that the nation should become responsible for their payment to the full amount.

The report was able, perspicuous, and comprehensive, embracing a complete view of the subject, and containing arguments of great cogency in support of the plan suggested. As to the foreign debt, there was no question in the mind of any one that it ought to be discharged according to the strict letter of the contracts; but in regard to the domestic debts, a difference of opinion prevailed. The secretary endeavoured to prove that no distinction should be admitted; that the expenditures had all been made for national objects; and that in equity the public faith was solemnly pledged for their reimbursement. The obligation was increased by their being "the price of liberty," without which the nation itself could never have attained an inde-

pendent existence. He argued that the policy of the measure was not less obvious than its justice ; that public credit was essential to the support of government under any form ; and that this could be maintained only by good faith in all transactions, and by honourably fulfilling engagements. Who would confide in a government that had refused to pay its debts, or respect a nation that had shewn a disregard to the principles which constitute the cement of every well-ordered community ?

When the report was considered in Congress, it gave rise to warm and protracted debates. The opponents of the secretary's plan were not without plausible reasons. As to the debt contracted by Congress, it was said that the usual maxims could not properly be applied. The evidences of this debt consisted in a paper currency and certificates, which, as there was no gold or silver, the creditors were, from the necessity of the case, obliged to take. This paper had in most cases passed through many hands, and was immensely depreciated below its nominal value. The original creditors, therefore, and the subsequent holders, had lost in proportion to the scale of depreciation. Hence the proposal to assume the whole debt as it stood on the face of the paper, and pay it to the present holders, was said to be inequitable, inasmuch as these had purchased it at the depreciated value, and had no claim to be remunerated for the losses of the previous holders.

Mr. Madison proposed a discrimination, by which the purchasers should be paid a certain portion, and the original holders the remainder. This was objected to as unjust and impracticable. By the form and tenour of the certificates, the debt was made payable to the original creditor or bearer. On these terms

they had been sold, and the sellers had relinquished all their claims to the purchasers for what was deemed an equivalent. When the transfers were made, it was understood by both parties to be on this principle, and the purchaser took the risk of eventual payment. It was clear, also, that it would be impossible to make the discrimination, except to a limited extent and in a partial manner, since the numerous transfers of the original creditors could not be ascertained and examined ; and even at best no provision was offered for the losses of the intermediate holders by the gradual depreciation. After a long debate in the House of Representatives, this scheme was rejected.

Next came up the State debts ; and the proposition to assume them created still greater divisions and heats in Congress, and much excitement abroad. It brought into action all the local prejudices and high-toned doctrines of State rights and State sovereignty, which had been so heavy a stumblingblock in the way of union and concord from the beginning of the Revolution. The debts of the respective States were very unequal in amount. This led to an investigation of the services rendered by each, and to invidious comparisons. The project was opposed as unconstitutional and unjust. Congress, it was said, had no power to take this burden upon the nation. Such an assumption of power was, moreover, an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the States, tending to diminish their importance, and lead to a consolidation destructive of the republican system. Each State was responsible for the debts it had contracted, and there was no reason for taxing the States, which owed little, to pay a portion of the large debt of others.

It was argued, in reply, that as the expenditures

had all been for the common cause of the nation, they came strictly within the legitimate control of Congress ; and also, as the constitution had transferred to the national legislature the entire power of raising funds from duties on imports and the sales of public lands, the principal sources of revenue, it was just that the debts should be paid out of these funds. The States could pay them only by excise duties, or direct taxes, which would be odious to the people and difficult to collect. In any event there must be long delays, and much uncertainty as to the result. The creditors had a right to claim more prompt payment and better security from the nation.

At last the secretary's plan for funding all the domestic debts was carried by a small majority in both houses of Congress. In regard to the State debts, however, the original proposition was modified. The specific sum of twenty-one millions and a half of dollars was assumed, and apportioned among the States in a proximate ratio to the amount of the debts of each. An act was passed by which the whole of the domestic debt became a loan to the nation. It was made redeemable at various times, and at various rates of interest.

One of the principal arguments for funding the debt, in addition to that of its equity, was, the advantage that would be derived from it as an active capital for immediate use. Sustained by the credit of the nation, bearing interest and redeemable at certain times, the paper securities of the government would have a permanent value in the market, and thus be a spur to enterprise, and increase the prosperity of the country in its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. All that was anticipated from the funding system, in these respects, was realized. Politically

considered, however, it had an unhappy influence. It widened the breach of parties, produced irritations, and excited animosities. Nor was it to be expected that the adversaries of the plan, and these a large minority, would readily change their opinion after the strenuous opposition they had shewn, or cease from their hostility. The President expressed no sentiments on the subject while it was under debate in Congress, but he approved the act for funding the public debt, and was undoubtedly, from conviction, a decided friend to the measure.

Another important point, upon which Congress under the old Confederation had been for a long time divided, was settled in the course of this session. Local interests and other considerations made it difficult to agree on the place for the permanent seat of government. It was at length determined that it should be removed for ten years to Philadelphia, and then be established at some place on the Potomac River. Ultimately the position was selected, which has since been called the District of Columbia; and the territory was surveyed, the city planned, and the public buildings commenced, under the direction of Washington, this duty devolving on him as President. For three or four years it occupied a great deal of his attention; and, in compliance with the laws, he appointed commissioners for managing the business, with whom he carried on a voluminous correspondence, giving personal directions, and requiring exact accounts of all proceedings.

Rhode Island having adopted the constitution and acceded to the Union, the President made a visit to that State immediately after the session of Congress. In his eastern tour he had avoided going to Rhode

Island, because it had not then joined the Union under the new government.

Another severe disease and constant application to business had much impaired his health, and he determined to take advantage of the recess of Congress, throw off for a brief space the burden of public cares, and seek repose and recreation in his own quiet home at Mount Vernon. He always returned to that spot with delight ; and it was now doubly dear to him, as it promised rest from labour, refreshment to his weary spirit and debilitated body, and a few days of leisure to ride over his farms, view his gardens, orchards, and fields, and observe the progress of his agricultural operations.

The foreign relations of the United States at the beginning of the new government, though not complicated, were nevertheless in an unsettled condition. With France there was a good understanding, the treaties of alliance and commerce having been scrupulously fulfilled on both sides. The revolutionary disorders, however, soon broke out, and produced disagreements, alienation, and trouble.

With Morocco, a sort of informal treaty existed, and Washington wrote two letters to the Emperor, who had received American vessels into his ports, and promised his aid to conciliate the Barbary powers. This promise was unavailing. The Algerines had seized vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and held the officers and sailors in bondage for several years.

The government stood in a more delicate relation to England than to any other power. The old feuds and bitter feelings of the war subsided slowly. All attempts to bring about a treaty of commerce between the two countries had failed. The British cabinet,

probably distrusting the stability of the Union under the old Confederation, had shewn no disposition to enter into a treaty of this sort, and had never sent a minister to the United States. The military posts on the frontiers had not been given up, as was stipulated in the treaty of peace. The reason assigned, that some of the States had refused to pay the debts due to British subjects, which they were likewise bound to do by the treaty, was plausible, and perhaps well founded. Congress had but a limited power to enforce a compliance with treaties, and it was natural in such a case that other nations should be tardy in making them. This state of things being altered by the constitution, President Washington thought it desirable to ascertain the views and intentions of the British government in regard to complying with the treaty of peace and to future intercourse. To attain this end, he commissioned Gouverneur Morris as a private agent to hold conversations with the British ministers, deeming it of great importance, as he said, that errors should be avoided in the system of policy respecting Great Britain.

Affairs with Spain were yet more unpromising. At the outset of the Revolution, his Catholic Majesty, yielding to the solicitations of France, seemed to abet the American cause; but he soon changed his mind, refused to join with France in acknowledging the independence of the United States, even when he declared war against England, and gave his sanction to the treaty of peace with no good will. He feared the effect, and not without reason, which the example of the northern republicans might have upon his colonies in South America. A negotiation had been going on, tedious as it was unprofitable, down to the time of Washington's election to the Presidency; but no appa-

rent progress had been made. The Floridas and Louisiana belonged to Spain. The navigation of the Mississippi was the great point of controversy. This was essential to the settlers in the West, and was becoming every day more and more so on account of the rapid increase of the population. Spain persisted in withholding all rights and privileges in that navigation from citizens of the United States. There were various grounds of policy for this refusal, but probably the most operative was a secret hope that the western inhabitants, weary of these obstacles to their commerce, and dissatisfied with the national government for not removing them, might sooner or later dis sever themselves from the Union, and form a separate republic, which would easily fall under the control of Spain.

Other circumstances, growing out of the relations with England and Spain, were extremely injurious to the interests of the country. During the war, the Indians on the borders of the United States had almost everywhere been allied with the enemy. When peace came, it found them in the attitude of hostility, their savage spirit roused, and their vindictive tempers eager for slaughter and revenge ; and the United States were left to appease and conciliate them as they could. In any case this would have been an arduous task, but the difficulty was soon perceived to be increased by a foreign influence, keeping alive their enmity, and stimulating them to acts of outrage. British agents and traders on the northern frontier furnished the Indians with arms, ammunition, and clothing. In Florida the Spaniards tampered with the Creeks and other Southern Indians, and kept them at variance with their white neighbours. These acts were not acknowledged, possibly not authorized, by the English and Spanish governments, but they were certainly not restrained, and

they were repeated long after full representations had been made.

The effect was, a protracted and expensive war. Washington's policy in regard to the Indians was always pacific and humane. He considered them as children, who should be treated with tenderness and forbearance. He aimed to conciliate them by good usage, to obtain their lands by fair purchase and punctual payments, to make treaties with them on terms of equity and reciprocal advantage, and strictly to redeem every pledge. In these respects he looked upon the Indian tribes as holding the same rank and the same rights as civilized nations. But their faithlessness, ravages, and murders, were not to be tolerated, from whatever causes they arose. After failing in every attempt at a pacification, he was convinced that war was the only alternative. It continued four or five years, with many vicissitudes of misfortune and disaster, the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair, unsuccessful campaigns, and much waste of blood and treasure, till General Wayne put an end to it, first by a battle, and then by a treaty of peace. This war lasted through a large part of Washington's administration. It was a source of regret and pain to him, on account both of its cause, the necessity of subduing by force the turbulence of an ignorant and deluded race of men, and of the heavy charge it imposed on the nation for maintaining an army.

Congress commenced their third session at Philadelphia, and the President returned from Mount Vernon to that city, where he afterwards resided till the term of his office expired. The debates of this session were scarcely less vehement, or less deeply tinged with party antipathies, than those of the preceding. Two important measures were brought forward, discussed,

and adopted—a national bank, and a tax on ardent spirits distilled in the United States.

The Secretary of the Treasury had previously recommended a national bank as of great utility in administering the finances of the country, and facilitating the operations for the support of public credit. He now called the attention of Congress to the subject by a special report, in which his views were explained with the same perspicuity and vigour of argument which marked everything that came from his pen. The project met with a strong opposition. It was attacked chiefly on the ground of its being unconstitutional. Much was said of the express, incidental, and implied powers conferred on Congress by the constitution ; and it was averred that none of these, nor all of them together, authorized the incorporating of a bank. Its policy was questioned, and the utility of banking systems denied. To this it was answered, that such incidental powers must necessarily belong to every form of government as will enable it to carry into effect the positive and vested powers, and to employ all the usual means for that purpose ; and that a construction of the constitution according to this fundamental principle fairly included the means afforded by a bank, to which almost all commercial nations had resorted, and the advantages of which had been proved by long experience. The arguments were somewhat metaphysical and attenuated on both sides ; and indeed the attempt to define what is intended or implied by a written instrument, on points about which it says nothing, must naturally lead to abstractions little suited to enlighten or convince. No other rule of interpretation would seem to be applicable in practice than that a proposed measure shall contribute to the public good, and not contravene any express

power. The contest ended in the establishment of a bank, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, of which eight millions were to be held by individuals, and the residue by the government.

On this subject the cabinet was divided, Jefferson and Randolph being opposed to the bank as unconstitutional, and Hamilton and Knox of a contrary opinion. The President requested from each a statement of his reasons in writing, and he is understood to have reflected deeply, and deliberated even with more than his usual caution, before he affixed his signature to the act.

The object of the tax on distilled spirits was to provide a fund for paying the interest on a portion of the domestic debt. The duties on imports were said to be strained as far as they would bear, without injury to commerce, and perhaps to the revenue by holding out a temptation to smuggling ; and, as a new tax must be laid somewhere, the Secretary of the Treasury thought it could fall on no commodity less objectionable than ardent spirits distilled in the country. The tax was opposed as impolitic and unequal in its application. It was branded as an odious excise, hostile to liberty, the collecting of which would inflame the people, and lead to evasions and perhaps to resistance. It was unequal, because distilling was practised mostly in the West, and a few limited districts in other parts. This argument was more specious than sound, since the consumers would actually pay the tax ; but it was vehemently urged by some of the representatives. The bill was carried, and was more remarkable for its consequences than for its characteristics as a legislative act, in whatever light it may be viewed.

The President had fixed on the next recess of Congress for a tour through the southern States. He set

off about the middle of March, and was gone three months, performing in that time a journey of eighteen hundred and eighty-seven miles with the same horses. His route was through Richmond, Wilmington, and Charleston, as far as Savannah ; whence he returned by way of Augusta, Columbia, and the interior of North Carolina and Virginia. Before leaving home, he had ascertained with great accuracy the distances between one place and another, settled the precise day upon which he should arrive at each, and the length of time he should stop. Not a single accident occurred ; and with such exactness and method had his calculations been made, that his original plan was executed in every particular, except that he stayed one day more in one place than he intended, and one day less in another. He everywhere received the same proofs of respect and attachment which had been manifested in his travels through the middle and eastern States.

The principal laws passed at the next session were those for apportioning the representatives, establishing a uniform militia system, and increasing the army. The constitution had prescribed that the representatives in the national legislature should be apportioned among the several States according to the respective numbers of their population ; but that the whole number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand. When the new apportionment bill was proposed, it was found that no ratio could be chosen which would not leave large fractions to some of the States. For instance, if thirty thousand were taken as the ratio, there would be an unrepresented surplus of fifteen or twenty thousand, more or less, in some of the States. To remedy this imperfection, a bill was introduced and passed, which fixed the ratio at

thirty thousand. The total population was divided by this ratio, which gave one hundred and twenty as the whole number of representatives. But this included the sum of all the fractions ; and, after apportioning to each State one representative for every thirty thousand, the residuary members, to make the whole number of one hundred and twenty, were distributed among the States in which the fractions were the largest. The President decided that this bill did not conform to the constitution, it being obvious that the ratio was meant to apply to the States individually, and not to the aggregate amount of population in them all. He therefore returned the bill to Congress, with his reasons for not affixing his signature. A new bill was then framed and approved, fixing the ratio at thirty-three thousand, and throwing out the fractions.

The subject derived an importance from the spirit of party and local jealousies which entered into the discussion. Many of the members were strenuous for as large a representation as possible, by which the rights of the States would be better preserved, and a check afforded to the undue increase of executive power. The bill for the increase of the army was opposed on the same grounds. It would enlarge the executive patronage, which might ultimately be adverse to liberty, and a greater evil than the Indian war, for the prosecution of which the army was wanted.

It became evident, indeed, from many indications, both in Congress and abroad, that the advocates for different measures were fast arranging themselves into two distinct parties, the administration and its friends on one side, and its opponents on the other. In the first place, they who had opposed the constitu-

tion would naturally have their prejudices arrayed against it when put in practice, and be ready to find fault with any system by which this was effected. Again, all those who had watched with solicitude over the rights of the States, and believed these in danger, would be prepared to see the fulfilment of their predictions in the acts of the general government, however administered. If to these we add the bias of personal feelings, the influence of the passions, an unlimited freedom of speech, and the tendency of opposition to beget opposition, we shall have abundant materials for creating parties and aliment for their support. And, as parties gain strength by union, it was easy for these elements, at first discordant, gradually to assimilate. Nor need we question the motives of any individual or class of men. It is fair to presume that, at this stage of our political progress, there was as much patriotism and sincerity on both sides as at any other period. It is true that, when a man gives himself up to a party, he is apt to forget his country; yet in all free communities there must be parties, and every man must belong to one or another, so that his motives should be judged by his conduct and character, rather than by the side he takes. The necessity of parties is not identical with their abuse. The former is the safeguard of liberty, the latter its bane. If the people would enjoy the one, they must be enlightened enough to perceive, and virtuous enough to correct, the other.

But this is not the place to examine into the origin or principles of the two great parties which at that time began to divide the country, and which have continued ever since, with such modifications as have sprung from events and circumstances. It needs only to be said that they were viewed with deep regret by

Washington, and with a painful apprehension of their effects. Conscious of acting with the single aim of administering the government for the best interests and happiness of the people, he was mortified to find his endeavours thwarted at every step by party discords and personal enmities among those who controlled public opinion by their standing and talents, and on whose aid he relied. It was not in Congress alone that these jarrings occurred. They crept into the cabinet, disturbing its harmony, and dividing its counsels.

He had for some time been aware of a radical difference of opinion between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury, on some of the most important measures of the administration. The causes were deeply seated. Hamilton regarded the constitution as affording inadequate powers to the general government, and believed its weakness to be its greatest defect. Hence he thought its success could be hoped for only by construing and administering it in such a manner as would add the greatest degree of strength to the executive. Jefferson's sentiments and fears ran in an opposite direction. To him it appeared that there was too much power in the head, that the exercise of the executive authority ought to be restrained, and that the rights of States and the liberty of the people were in jeopardy. The funding system, the assumption of the State debts, the bank, and the tax on domestic spirits, were all at variance with his principles.

These measures originated with Hamilton, and constituted the prominent features of the administration. The ability with which they had been planned and their success contributed to elevate their author in the public estimation, which, to say the least, could

not be supposed to gratify the feelings of his colleague, especially as he looked upon the measures themselves to be wrong and fraught with mischief; nor could it be expected that the two secretaries would harmonize in devising the means of carrying them into execution. It should be stated, nevertheless, that Jefferson discharged the duties of his office to the entire satisfaction of the President. Though differing in opinion from the majority of the cabinet, he did not allow his private views to influence his conduct as a member of that council, or as holding a responsible station in the government. Nothing more, perhaps, could reasonably be required of him, under the circumstances in which he was placed; yet, as it regarded the success of the administration, a reluctant performance of duty was far from being the same thing as the cordial and vigorous support of a willing mind. In all respects, therefore, these disagreements were unpropitious, embarrassing to the President, and injurious to the public welfare.

The deep anxiety he felt on this subject, his ardent desire to heal the breach, and the means he took to accomplish it, will appear in the following extract from a letter which he wrote to Jefferson:—

“How unfortunate and how much to be regretted is it that, while we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious friends, internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The latter, to me, is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting, of the two; and, without more charity for the opinions and acts of one another in governmental matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test of experience, are to be forejudged, than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility,

I believe it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to manage the reins of government, or to keep the parts of it together; for if, instead of laying our shoulders to the machine after measures are decided on, one pulls this way and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must inevitably be torn asunder; and, in my opinion, the fairest prospect of happiness and prosperity that ever was presented to man will be lost, perhaps, for ever.

“My earnest wish and my fondest hope, therefore, is, that, instead of wounding suspicions and irritating charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual forbearances, and temporizing yieldings on all sides. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and, if possible, more prosperously. Without them, everything must rub; the wheels of government will clog; our enemies will triumph, and, by throwing their weight into the disaffected scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabric we have been erecting.

“I do not mean to apply this advice, or these observations, to any particular person or character. I have given them in the same general terms to other officers of the government; because the disagreements which have arisen from difference of opinions, and the attacks which have been made upon almost all the measures of government, and most of its executive officers, have, for a long time past, filled me with painful sensations; and cannot fail, I think, of producing unhappy consequences at home and abroad.”

He wrote likewise to Hamilton, nearly at the same time and almost in the same words, and added; “Differences in political opinions are as unavoidable as, to a certain point, they may, perhaps, be necessary; but it is exceedingly to be regretted that subjects

cannot be discussed with temper on the one hand, or decisions submitted to without having the motives which led to them improperly implicated on the other; and this regret borders on chagrin, when we find that men of abilities, zealous patriots, having the same *general* objects in view, and the same upright intentions to prosecute them, will not exercise more charity in deciding on the opinions and actions of one another. When matters get to such lengths, the natural inference is, that both sides have strained the cords beyond their bearing, and that a middle course would be found the best, until experience shall have decided on the right way; or (which is not to be expected, because it is denied to mortals,) there shall be some infallible rule by which we could forejudge events."

In another letter to Jefferson, after again recommending mutual forbearance and conciliation, he said—"A measure of this sort would produce harmony and consequent good in our public councils. The contrary will inevitably introduce confusion and serious mischiefs; and for what? Because mankind cannot think alike, but would adopt different means to attain the same ends. For I will frankly and solemnly declare that I believe the views of both of you to be pure and well-meant, and that experience only will decide, with respect to the salutariness of the measures which are the subjects of dispute. Why, then, when some of the best citizens in the United States, men of discernment, uniform and tried patriots, who have no sinister views to promote, but are chaste in their ways of thinking and acting, are to be found, some on one side and some on the other of the questions which have caused these agitations, should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions

as to make no allowances for those of the other? I could, and, indeed, was about to add more on this interesting subject, but will forbear, at least for the present, after expressing a wish that the cup which has been presented to us may not be snatched from our lips by a discordance of action, when I am persuaded there is no discordance in your views. I have a great, a sincere esteem and regard for you both, and ardently wish that some line may be marked out by which both of you could walk."

Unhappily, this line was never found. The two secretaries continued to diverge from each other, both in their political course and their private feelings, till their differences settled into a personal enmity, which neither the advice of friends could modify nor time eradicate. This was the more lamented by Washington, as, according to his own declaration and the whole tenour of his intercourse, he had a sincere attachment to both of them, and confidence in their patriotic intentions; and as he foresaw the fatal consequences which might result from a heated strife between men whose talents and political consideration gave them so commanding an influence over the public will.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Washington is elected President for a Second Term.—Takes the Oath of Office.—Relations between the United States and France.—Opinions of the Cabinet.—Proclamation of Neutrality.—Party Divisions and Excitements.—Genet received as Minister from France.—His extraordinary Conduct.—Democratic Societies.—Washington's Opinion of these Societies, and on the Subject of instructing Representatives.—Relations with England.—British Orders in Violation of Neutral Rights.—Meeting of Congress.—The President recommends Measures of Defence.—Character of Washington by Mr. Fox.—Letter from Lord Erskine.—Commercial Affairs.—Mr. Madison's Commercial Resolutions.—Mr. Jay appointed Envoy Extraordinary to negotiate a Treaty with England.—Military Preparations.—Insurrection in Pennsylvania.—Measures adopted by the President for suppressing it.—Plan for Redeeming the Public Debt.

WHEN the President's term of office, as prescribed by the Constitution, was drawing to a close, no little anxiety was felt and expressed as to his willingness again to receive the suffrages of the people. The reluctance with which he had consented to the first election was so great that it was feared he could not be prevailed upon to remain longer in public life. From his friends in different parts of the country he received early communications on the subject, urging him not to decide hastily, and, if possible, to reconcile himself to a second election. Three members of the cabinet, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Randolph, each wrote to him a long letter, containing reasons why it was of the utmost importance to his own reputation and to the public interests that, for the present at least, he should not retire.

Each of these gentlemen drew a picture of the condition of the country, its future prospects, and the state of parties ; and, although they differed radically concerning some of the principal measures of the

administration, they agreed in opinion that the character, influence, and steady hand, of Washington were necessary to secure the stability of government, if not to preserve the nation from anarchy. Their language is strong, and shews the anxious concern with which the crisis was viewed by men of all parties.

“The confidence of the whole Union,” said Jefferson, “is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and south will hang together if they have you to hang on; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States. I am perfectly aware of the oppression under which your present office lays your mind, and of the ardour with which you pant for retirement to domestic life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims as to control the predilection of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed on you by Providence in forming your character, and fashioning the events on which it was to operate; and it is to motives like these, and not to personal anxieties of mine or others, who have no right to call on you for sacrifices, that I appeal from your former determination and urge a revisal of it, on the ground of change in the aspect of things. Should an honest majority result from the new and enlarged representation, should those acquiesce whose principles or interests they may control, your wishes for retirement would be gratified

with less danger as soon as that shall be manifest, without awaiting the completion of the second period of four years. One or two sessions will determine the crisis ; and I cannot but hope that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind.”

Hamilton was equally strenuous and decided. “ It is clear,” said he, “ that if you continue in office, nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended ; if you quit, much is to be dreaded ; that the same motives which induced you to accept originally ought to decide you to continue till matters have assumed a more determinate aspect ; that indeed it would have been better, as it regards your own character, that you had never consented to come forward, than now to leave the business unfinished, and in danger of being undone ; that, in the event of storms arising, there would be an imputation either of want of foresight or want of firmness ; and, in fine, that on public and personal accounts, on patriotic and prudential considerations, the clear path to be pursued by you will be again to obey the voice of your country. I trust, and I pray God, that you will determine to make a further sacrifice of your tranquillity and happiness to the public good.”

Randolph spoke with the same urgency. “ The fuel which has been already gathered for combustion,” he observed, “ wants no addition. But how awfully might it be increased were the violence, which is now suspended by a universal submission to your pretensions, let loose by your resignation. The constitution would never have been adopted, but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles

are past, but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. You suffered yourself to yield when the voice of your country summoned you to the administration. Should a civil war arise, you cannot stay at home. And how much easier will it be to disperse the factions which are rushing to this catastrophe, than to subdue them after they shall appear in arms? It is the fixed opinion of the world that you surrender nothing incomplete."

Sentiments like these, uttered by his confidential advisers, whose political opinions he knew were at variance with each other, could not fail to make a deep impression, and the more so as they were reiterated from every quarter. He seems to have resolved at one time to follow his inclination, and retire at the end of his first term of service. This is evident from his having prepared a farewell address to the people, designed for the occasion of his taking leave of them. But he never made a public declaration to that effect, and he was finally chosen for a second period of four years by the unanimous vote of the electors. On the 4th of March, 1793, he took the oath of office in the senate-chamber, in presence of the members of the cabinet, various public officers, foreign ministers, and such other persons as could be accommodated.

In addition to the Indian war, the contests of parties, and other internal troubles with which the administration was embarrassed, the foreign relations of the United States were every day becoming peculiarly delicate and inauspicious. Scarcely had the President entered upon his new term of office, when the intelligence was received that France had declared war against England and Holland. The French revolution, in its earliest stages, was hailed by almost every one in the United States as a joyful event, and

as affording a presage of the happiest results to the cause of freedom and the welfare of mankind. Such would naturally be the first impulse of a people who had recently been engaged in a similar struggle, encouraged by the good wishes, and strengthened by the assistance, of the French nation. Washington partook of this general sentiment.

The sanguinary acts that followed, and the ferocious temper shewn by the leaders, left but little ground for hope; yet there were causes still which induced many to cling to the interests of France and approve the revolution, although they looked with horror upon the means employed to carry it forward. It was believed to be a warfare of the oppressed against their oppressors, in which justice was asserting her rights, and rescuing from thralldom the victims who had been so long borne down by the yoke of bondage, and scourged by the rod of despotism. A new era was supposed to have arisen when liberty was about to go forth successful in conquest, breaking down the strong-holds of tyranny, and building up her temples of peace and concord on their ruins. Ardent minds were easily captivated by this illusion, especially when it harmonized with their opinions on other subjects. Their impressions also derived force from the prejudices against England, deeply rooted and of long standing, which the conduct of the British cabinet since the peace had not contributed to remove.

Gouverneur Morris had been sent to France as minister plenipotentiary from the United States. A friendly intercourse had been kept up between the two countries, on the basis of the treaties of alliance and commerce; but, after the downfall of the King, and amidst the distractions succeeding that event, the minister's situation was embarrassing. It was the

opinion of Washington, in which his cabinet agreed with him, that every nation had a right to govern itself as it chose, and that other nations were bound to recognise and respect the existing authority, whatever form it might assume. Mr. Morris was furnished with instructions according to this view of the subject. But the difficulty for a time consisted in ascertaining whether there was any actual government resting on the will of the nation. His prudence in this respect, and his caution not to commit his country rashly, gave umbrage to the nominal rulers, or rather the leaders of the contending factions, who complained and expressed dissatisfaction that the United States manifested so little sympathy with their earliest friends and allies, the vindicators of liberty and the rights of man. Such was the state of things when war was declared against England.

It was perceived that this aspect of affairs would have a direct influence on the foreign relations of the United States, and that it would require the greatest circumspection to prevent the country from being embroiled with belligerent powers, particularly England and France. When the President first heard the news of the declaration of war, he was at Mount Vernon ; and he wrote immediately to the Secretary of State, avowing his determination to maintain a strict neutrality between the hostile parties. Vessels in the ports of the United States were understood to be already designated as privateers, and he desired that measures to put a stop to all such proceedings should be adopted without delay.

On his return to Philadelphia, he summoned a meeting of the cabinet, submitting to each member at the same time a series of questions, which he requested might be considered as preparatory to the meeting.

The substance of these questions was, whether a proclamation of neutrality should be issued ; whether a minister from the French republic should be received, and, if so, whether it should be absolutely or with qualifications ; whether, in the present condition of France, the United States were bound by good faith to execute the treaties between the two nations, or whether these ought to be suspended till the government should be established ; and whether the guarantee in the treaty of alliance was applicable to a defensive war only, or to a war either defensive or offensive. These points involved very important considerations. If the treaty was binding in the case of an offensive war, then a state of neutrality could not be assumed in regard to France ; and if it was applicable to a defensive war only, the intricate question was still to be settled, whether the war on the part of the French was offensive or defensive, or of a mixed and equivocal character, and how far the guarantee ought to be applied under such circumstances.

The cabinet decided unanimously that a proclamation should be issued, “ forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas, either with or against the belligerent powers ; and warning them against carrying to any such powers any of those articles deemed contraband according to the modern usages of nations ; and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war.” It was also agreed, with the same unanimity, that a minister from the French republic should be received. On the subject of qualifying his reception, the members of the cabinet were divided in opinion, Jefferson and Randolph being opposed to any qualification implying that the relations between the two countries

were changed, and Hamilton and Knox being in favour of it, because they believed there was in reality no fixed government in France, and they feared that a recognition of the existing authority might involve the United States in difficulties with that nation and with other powers.

As to the question of guarantee, the two former thought it not necessary to come to any formal decision, while the two latter argued that the treaty of alliance was plainly defensive, and that the guarantee could not apply to a war which had been begun by France. The President required the opinions and arguments of each member of the cabinet in writing; and, after deliberately weighing them, he decided that a minister should be received on the same terms as formerly, and that the obligations of the treaties ought to remain in full force, leaving the subject of guarantee for future consideration, aided by a better knowledge of the condition and prospects of France.

The proclamation of neutrality was signed on the 22nd of April, and immediately published. This measure, in regard both to its character and its consequences, was one of the most important of Washington's administration. It was the basis of a system, by which the intercourse with foreign nations was regulated, and which was rigidly adhered to. In fact, it was the only step that could have saved the United States from being drawn into the vortex of the European wars, which raged with so much violence for a long time afterwards. Its wisdom and its good effects are now so obvious, on a calm review of past events, that one is astonished at the opposition it met with, and the strifes it enkindled, even after making due allowance for the passions and prejudices which had

hitherto been at work in producing discord and divisions.

But so it was, that this act, emanating from the purest motives, founded on the clearest principles of justice, designed to keep the nation in peace, and advance its prosperity, was distorted into an instrument for effecting party objects, and made a rallying-point whence to assail the administration and embarrass its movements. It was denounced as violating the treaty with France, and as indicating an open hostility to that country and partiality for England. In short, it became the dividing line between the two great parties, which had been growing up from the time the constitution was framed, and which consolidated themselves under the names of the Federal and Democratic parties, the former adhering to the administration, the latter opposing it. Foreign affairs were mingled with domestic politics. The friends of neutrality were stigmatized as partisans of England; while they, in their turn, charged their opponents with being devoted to France, abetting the horrors of the revolution, and striving to lead the country into a war, in which nothing could be gained and much might be lost. Thus each side contributed its share to add fuel to the flame.

Washington for a time was allowed to keep aloof from the contest. His character, revered by the people, shielded by their affections, and equally above reproach and suspicion, was too elevated a mark for the shafts of malevolence. But a crisis had now arrived when the sacredness of virtue, and the services of a life spent in promoting the public weal, could no longer secure him from the assaults of party animosity. The enemies of the administration perceived that the

attempt to execute their plans would be vain, unless they could first weaken his influence by diminishing his popularity. The task was hard and repelling; and it may reasonably be presumed that a supposed political necessity, rather than cordial good will, led them to engage in so ungrateful a work. It was pursued with a perseverance, and sometimes with an acrimony, for which the best of causes could hardly afford an apology; but however much it might disturb his repose or embarrass his public measures, it could neither shake his firmness nor turn him from his steady purpose of sacrificing every other consideration to the interests of his country.

In the midst of these ferments, M. Genet came to the United States as minister from the French republic. He landed at Charleston, in South Carolina, and travelled thence through the country to Philadelphia. He was received everywhere with such enthusiasm and extravagant marks of attention, as to deceive him into a belief that the great body of the American people heartily espoused the cause of the French revolution, and was ready to join the citizens of the new republic in carrying the banner of liberty and equality to the ends of the earth. Being of an ardent temperament, and emboldened by these indications, the citizen minister, as he was called, at once commenced a career as unjustifiable as it was extraordinary. Even before he left Charleston he gave orders for fitting out and arming vessels in that port to cruise as privateers, and commit hostilities on the commerce of nations at peace with the United States. Notwithstanding this act of presumption and rashness, which was known before he reached Philadelphia, he was received by the President with frankness, and

with all the respect due to the representative of a foreign power.

Genet declared that his government was strongly attached to the United States, and had no desire to engage them in the war; but his secret instructions, which he afterwards published, were of a different complexion, and proved very clearly that the designs of his employers were contrary to the professions of their minister. Indeed, his whole conduct, from beginning to end, could have no other tendency than to bring the United States into an immediate conflict with all the powers at war with France. The privateers commissioned by him came into the American ports with prizes. This produced remonstrances from the British minister, and a demand of restitution. The subject accordingly came before the cabinet. In regard to the lawfulness of the seizures there was but one opinion. It was decided that, since every nation had exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory, the act of fitting out armed vessels under the authority of a foreign power was an encroachment on national sovereignty, and a violation of neutral rights, which the government was bound to prevent.

A declaration was accordingly made that no privateers fitted out in this manner should find an asylum in the ports of the United States; and the custom-house officers were instructed to keep a careful watch, and report every vessel which contravened the laws of neutrality. The question of restitution involved intricate points of maritime law, and opinions on this subject varied. It was unanimously agreed, however, that the original owners might justly claim indemnification, and that if the property was not restored by the captors, the value of it ought to be paid by the government.

The French minister protested against these decisions, became angry and violent, wrote offensive letters to the Secretary of State, and seemed to forget alike the dignity of his station and his character as a man. He still continued to encourage armed vessels to sail from American ports under the French flag. By the firmness of the executive a check was put to this effrontery. Measures were taken to prevent by force the departure of such vessels. The madness of the minister was increased by the obstacles he encountered. Finding himself baffled in all his schemes, he resorted to menaces, accused the President of having usurped the powers of Congress, and more than insinuated that he would appeal to the people for redress. This insult, aggravated by his previous conduct, could neither be tolerated nor passed over in silence. It was obvious, indeed, that nothing could be hoped from any further intercourse with so wrongheaded a man. A statement of the particulars was drawn up, and forwarded to the French government, with a request that he might be recalled. A more remarkable chapter can hardly be found in the history of diplomacy than might be furnished from the records of this mission of Genet. It is a memorable instance of the infatuation to which a man of respectable talents and private character may be driven by political frenzy.

Among the pernicious effects of Genet's embassy was the establishment of associations in different parts of the country, called Democratic Societies, upon the model of the Jacobin clubs in France. The first society of this sort was instituted in Philadelphia, under the direction of Genet himself. Others soon followed. Their objects and influence are described by Washington.

“ That these societies,” he observes, “ were instituted by the artful and designing members (many of their body I have no doubt mean well, but know little of the real plan) primarily to sow among the people the seeds of jealousy and distrust of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it; and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one who is acquainted with the character of their leaders, and has been attentive to their manœuvres.

“ Can anything be more absurd, more arrogant, or more pernicious to the peace of society, than for self-created bodies, forming themselves into permanent censors, and under the shade of night, in a conclave, resolving that acts of Congress, which have undergone the most deliberate and solemn discussion by the representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose, and bringing with them from the different parts of the Union the sense of their constituents, endeavouring, as far as the nature of the thing will admit, to form *their will* into laws for the government of the whole,—I say, under these circumstances, for a self-created *permanent* body (for no one denies the right of the people to meet occasionally to petition for, or remonstrate against, any act of the legislature) to declare that *this act* is unconstitutional, and *that act* is pregnant with mischiefs, and that all who vote contrary to their dogmas are actuated by selfish motives or under foreign influence, nay, are traitors to their country,—is such a stretch of arrogant presumption to be reconciled with laudable motives, especially when we see the same set of men endeavouring to destroy all confidence in the administration, by arraigning all its acts, without knowing on what ground or with what information it proceeds?”

He had declared similar opinions some years before, when it was a practice in Virginia to form societies for discussing political topics, examining public measures, and instructing delegates to the legislature. He expressed strong disapprobation of these societies in letters to a nephew, who belonged to one of them. Nor was he in any case friendly to positive instructions from electors, believing that the representative, who is of course acquainted with the sentiments of his constituents among whom he resides, should be left to act according to the judgment he shall form, after being enlightened by the arguments and collected wisdom of a deliberative assembly.

The relations with England were even more perplexed than those with France. A diplomatic intercourse had been commenced after the constitution was adopted. Mr. Hammond resided in Philadelphia as minister from the British government, and Mr. Thomas Pinckney represented the United States as minister plenipotentiary at the court of St. James. No progress had been made, however, in negotiating a treaty of commerce, or removing the causes of complaint. The catalogue of grievances had rather grown longer than shorter. The posts on the frontier were still held, contrary to the treaty of peace, and interferences with the Indians continued. Vessels had been searched and seamen impressed by British officers within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States ; and the Bermuda privateers had committed depredations upon American vessels, not only with impunity, but with the open sanction of the admiralty court in those islands.

With the design of distressing France by cutting off her supplies, two orders were issued by the British cabinet, one in June, and the other in November,

which operated with peculiar force upon American commerce. By the first order, British cruisers were instructed to stop all ships loaded with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any French port, and send them to some convenient port, where the cargoes might be purchased in behalf of his Majesty's government. By the second, ships of war and privateers were required to detain all vessels laden with goods produced in any colony belonging to France, or with provisions for any such colony, and bring them to legal adjudication in the British courts of admiralty. These orders were considered as a direct and flagrant violation of neutral rights, and the American government remonstrated against them as unjust in principle, and extremely injurious in their effects.

When Congress assembled, the state of affairs, both external and internal, was largely explained in the President's speech, and in a separate message accompanied with many documents. In these were comprised the reasons for the course he had pursued respecting foreign powers, and suggestions for additional legislative enactments to protect the rights of American citizens, and maintain the dignity of the country. While he sought peace, and urged a faithful discharge of every duty towards others, he recommended that prompt measures should be taken, not only for defence, but for enforcing just claims. "There is a rank due to the United States among nations," said he, "which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace,—one of the most powerful instruments of our prosperity,—it must be known that we are at all times ready for war." These communications were well received by the two houses. Indeed, both parties in

Congress found so much to condemn in the conduct of the belligerent powers towards neutrals, that on this point they seemed for a moment to forget their dissensions ; and, although the proclamation of neutrality continued to be made a theme of declamation and abuse by violent partisans and the presses hostile to the administration, it met with no marks of disapprobation from Congress.*

Near the beginning of the session, an important report was made by the Secretary of State respecting the commercial intercourse of the United States with other nations, particularly in regard to its privileges and restrictions, and the means for improving com-

* It was in allusion to the President's communications to Congress at the opening of this session, that Mr. Fox made the following remarks in the British Parliament, January 31st, 1794 :—

“ And here, Sir, I cannot help alluding to the President of the United States, General Washington,—a character whose conduct has been so different from that which has been pursued by the ministers of this country. How infinitely wiser must appear the spirit and principles manifested in his late address to Congress, than the policy of modern European courts ! Illustrious man ! deriving honour less from the splendour of his situation than from the dignity of his mind ; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible ! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy, or arts of alarm ; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired ; and his conduct has uniformly been characterized by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. Feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, he did not choose to give up the system of neutrality. Having once laid down that line of conduct which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults and provocation of the French minister, Genet, could turn him from his purpose. Intrusted with the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to withdraw his attention from their interest. He had no fear of the Jacobins, he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress.

“ The people over whom he presided he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to inflame or mislead their

merce and navigation. The report was able, elaborate, and comprehensive, presenting a view of the trade between the United States and the principal countries of Europe.

Two methods were suggested by the secretary for modifying or removing restrictions ; first, by amicable arrangements with foreign powers ; secondly, by countervailing acts of the legislature. He preferred the former, if it should be found practicable, and gave his reasons. The subject of navigation was also discussed, and a system of maritime defence recommended.

Shortly after making this report, Mr. Jefferson retired from the office of Secretary of State, in con-

minds ; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects, attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted ; confidence, not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence, and the experience of its blessings. I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and fortune of this great man. By the phrase ‘fortune,’ I mean not in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach. It must, indeed, create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question ; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence or of mean submission in his transactions with foreign nations. For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career.”

To this eulogy of Mr. Fox may properly be appended the complimentary letter of Mr. Erskine, afterwards Lord Erskine, to General Washington, though written a year later. It accompanied a book on the causes and consequences of the war with France.

“ London, 15th March, 1795.

“ SIR,

“ I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence, which will be found in the book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men ; but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world.

T. ERSKINE.”

formity with an intimation he had given some months before ; having been prevailed upon by the President, apparently against his own inclination, to remain till the end of the year. He was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, whose place as Attorney-general was supplied by William Bradford, of Pennsylvania

The secretary's report gave rise to Mr. Madison's celebrated commercial resolutions, which were long debated in the House of Representatives with a degree of animation, and even of asperity, that had not been exceeded since the adoption of the funding system. These resolutions embraced the general principles of the report, but they aimed at a discrimination in the commercial intercourse with foreign countries which was viewed in very different lights by the two parties in Congress. They imposed restrictions and additional duties on the manufactures and navigation of nations, which had no commercial treaties with the United States, and a reduction of duties on the tonnage of vessels belonging to nations with which such treaties existed. In this scheme the friends of the administration saw, or imagined they saw, hostility to England and undue favour to France, neither warranted by policy nor consistent with neutrality ; while the other party regarded it as equitable in itself, and as absolutely necessary to protect the commerce of the country from insulting aggression and plunder. Mr. Madison's plan was modified in its progress ; but a resolution, retaining the principle of commercial restrictions, finally passed the House of Representatives. It was rejected in the Senate by the casting-vote of the Vice-President.

While these discussions were going on with much heat in Congress, a measure was resorted to by the President, which produced considerable effect on the

results. Advices from the American minister in London rendered it probable that the British cabinet were disposed to settle the differences between the two countries on amicable terms. At all events the indications were such that Washington, firm to his purpose of neutrality and peace, resolved to make the experiment. Accordingly, on the 16th of April, he nominated Mr. Jay to the Senate, as an envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain. "My objects are," said he, in a letter to the Secretary of State, "to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained by fair and strong representations of the injuries which this country has sustained from Great Britain in various ways, to put it in a complete state of military defence, and to provide eventually for the execution of such measures as seem to be now pending in Congress, if negotiation in a reasonable time proves unsuccessful." The nomination was confirmed in the Senate by a majority of more than two to one; but it was strenuously opposed by the principal members of the democratic party, particularly Mr. Monroe, and was disapproved by the same party in the House of Representatives.

As a war seemed inevitable, if Mr. Jay's mission should terminate unfavourably, Congress passed acts for putting the country in a state of defence. The principal harbours were to be fortified, and eighty thousand militia to be held in readiness for immediate service. The importation of arms was permitted free of duty, and the President was authorized to purchase galleys, and lay an embargo, if he should think the public interests required it. Additional taxes were levied to meet the expense.

Congress adjourned, after a long and boisterous session, which had contributed not a little to increase the

acrimony of parties, multiply the causes of dissension, and inflame the minds of the people. The administration, however, stood firm ; and neither the policy nor the opinions of Washington were in any degree changed. In fact, having no personal objects to gain, thinking and acting only for his country, divested of partiality and prejudice as far as it was possible for any man to be, and invariably taking counsel of his conscience and judgment, he stood aloof from the commotions of party and the contagious influence of party spirit. Justice to all nations, peace with all, and a preparation for war as the best safeguard of peace, were the rules of his policy and his constant aim.

In the course of the preceding winter, M. Fauchet arrived in the United States as minister from France. At the request of the French government, Mr. Morris was recalled, and James Monroe was appointed as his successor. This selection afforded a strong proof of the impartiality of the President, and of his ardent desire to conciliate differences at home, and preserve amity with foreign nations. Mr. Monroe, being a leader among the opponents to the administration, had shewn himself a zealous advocate for France.

Soon after Congress adjourned, the President's attention was called to another subject, of very serious import, both as it regarded the authority of the laws, and the stability of the union. The act of Congress imposing a tax on distilled spirits had, from its first operation, excited much uneasiness in various parts of the country, and in some districts it had been evaded and openly resisted. The inspectors of the revenue appointed by the government were insulted, threatened, and even prevented by force from discharging their duty. To so great a length had these outrages gone in some places, as early as September, 1792, that a

proclamation was published by the President, admonishing all persons to refrain from combinations and proceedings which obstructed the execution of the laws, and requiring the magistrates and courts to exert the powers vested in them for bringing to justice the offenders. Bills of indictment were found against some of these persons, and the marshal attempted to serve the processes issued by the court. He was met by a body of armed men, seized, detained, and harshly treated. The malecontents proceeded from one degree of excess to another, holding seditious meetings, arming themselves, abusing the officers of the government, and bidding defiance to the laws, till they assumed the attitude of insurrection, and prepared for an organized resistance.

The moderation and forbearance which, according to his usual practice, the President had exercised towards these deluded people for more than two years, served only to increase their violence and encourage their determined spirit of hostility. He could no longer hesitate as to the course he ought to pursue. He resolved to employ the means intrusted to him by the laws, and suppress the insurrection by a military force. As a preparatory step, he issued a proclamation, dated on the 7th of August, in which, after briefly narrating the criminal transactions of the insurgents, and what had been done by the government to allay their discontents and turn them from their treasonable practices, he declared his determination to execute the laws by calling the militia to his aid, and commanded the insurgents and all persons concerned in abetting their acts to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes before the first day of September.

Having sent out this proclamation, as a preliminary measure exacted by the laws, he next made a requisi-

tion for militia on the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The insurgents chiefly resided in the western counties of Pennsylvania. It was supposed there were among them about sixteen thousand men capable of bearing arms, and that they could bring at least seven thousand into active service. The number of militia at first ordered out was twelve thousand, and it was subsequently increased to fifteen thousand. The governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey took the field at the head of the troops from their respective States, and the command of the whole was conferred on Governor Lee of Virginia.* The place of rendezvous for the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops was Bedford. Those from Virginia and Maryland assembled at Cumberland, the site of Old Fort Cumberland, at the junction of Will's Creek with the Potomac River. From every quarter the militia came forward with alacrity, and the best disposition was shewn by officers and privates to execute the orders of the government.

The President, accompanied by the Secretary of War, inspected the army at the two places of rendezvous. He went, by way of Harrisburg and Carlisle, first to Cumberland, and thence to Bedford, these places being about thirty miles apart. He gave directions for each division to march across the Allegany Mountains, meet on the other side, and act against the insurgents as circumstances should require. Ascertaining from personal examination that everything was in readiness, and leaving written instructions with

* The rank of the principal officers, as stated in Washington's Diary, was as follows :—First, Governor Lee, commander-in-chief; second, Governor Mifflin; third, Governor Howell; fourth, General Daniel Morgan. The comparative rank of the brigadiers is not mentioned. General Hand was appointed adjutant-general.

General Lee, he returned to Philadelphia. Congress was soon to meet, and it was important for him to be there at that time. He was absent four weeks.

When he left home he intended to cross the mountains and lead the army in person, if this should seem expedient; but the intelligence he received on the way, and the spirit which animated the troops, convinced him that the insurgents would make no formidable resistance to such a force, and that his further attendance on the expedition was not necessary. The Secretary of War went on with the army to Pittsburg. The result was even more fortunate than could have been expected. No resistance was attempted, and no blood was shed. To preserve quiet, and secure what had been gained, a body of troops continued for some time in the disaffected country under the command of General Morgan.

In the President's speech to Congress, after mentioning somewhat in detail the course he had taken to suppress the insurrection, he recommended further provisions for defence, particularly a reform of the militia system, and also advised that some plan should be adopted for redeeming the public debt, which now amounted to about seventy-six millions of dollars. While this last subject was under discussion in Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury reported a scheme, which he had matured on the basis of the laws previously enacted for regulating the fiscal operations of the government. A sinking fund had already been established, by setting apart for that purpose a portion of certain specified taxes; and he proposed that this fund should be enlarged by increasing the duties on imports, tonnage, and distilled spirits, by the money accruing from the sales of public lands, the dividends on bank stock, and the surplus revenue re-

maining after the annual appropriations had been expended, and that the fund, thus increased, should be applied to the redemption of the debt. This report occasioned much debate ; but the secretary's plan was substantially approved, and an act conformable to it was passed.

Before the end of the session, Hamilton resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury. The vacancy was filled by Oliver Wolcott, who was strongly recommended by Hamilton, and whose character was well known and highly respected by the President. General Knox likewise retired from the war department, and was succeeded by Timothy Pickering, at that time Postmaster-general, whose services in the revolution had qualified him, in an eminent degree, for executing the duties of Secretary of War.

CHAPTER XIX.

The British Treaty ratified by the Senate.—Popular Excitement respecting it.—The Treaty confirmed by the Signature of the President.—Resignation of Mr. Randolph.—Circumstances attending it.—The President refuses to furnish Papers to the House of Representatives in relation to the British Treaty.—Captivity of Lafayette, and means used by Washington to procure his Liberation.—Difficulties with France in regard to the British Treaty.—Recall of Mr. Monroe.—Washington's Farewell Address.—His last Speech to Congress.—Inauguration of his Successor.—Testimony of Respect shewn to him by the Citizens of Philadelphia.—He retires to Mount Vernon.—Review of his Administration.—Remarks on Mr. Jefferson's Conduct towards Washington.—Troubles with France.—Preparations for War.—Washington appointed Commander-in-chief of the Provisional Army of the United States.—Organization and Arrangement of the Army.—His last Illness and Death.

THE treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay, arrived at the seat of government in March, shortly after the session of Congress was closed. The Constitution had provided that all treaties should be ratified by the Senate, and the President summoned that body to meet in June, for the purpose of considering it.

In the interval, he examined and studied the treaty with the closest attention. It was not altogether such as he wished, perhaps not such as he had hoped. Points were left untouched, which he would gladly have seen introduced and definitively settled; others were so arranged that he feared they would not prove a sufficient guard against future difficulties between the two nations. But he had perfect confidence in the ability, knowledge, and patriotism, of Mr. Jay. He was convinced that more favourable terms could not be obtained, and that the only alternative was this treaty or none. Some valuable privileges were secured, nothing had been sacrificed, the national

honour was maintained, and a pledge of amity was held out. If the treaty was rejected, a war would certainly follow, the calamities of which, in the actual state of Europe, would be incalculable, and no one could predict when they would end, or to what they would lead. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, and believing peace the greatest blessing his country could possess, he resolved, in case the treaty should be approved by the Senate, to affix to it his signature.

The Senate assembled in June, and, after two weeks' discussion, advised the ratification. One article, however, was excepted. By this article it was stipulated, that a direct trade between the United States and the British West India Islands should be allowed to American vessels not exceeding the burden of seventy tons, laden with the produce of the States or of the Islands; but that molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton, should not be transported in American vessels, either from the United States or the Islands, to any part of the world. As cotton was then becoming a product of much importance in the southern States, and had begun to be exported, this restriction was deemed inadmissible; and the ratification of the Senate was to be valid only on condition that an article should be introduced, cancelling the one in which the restriction was contained. Nor was there a unanimity even with this limitation. A bare constitutional majority,—that is, exactly two-thirds of the members, voted in favour of the treaty.

As this was a novel case, the President was somewhat at a loss to determine how to dispose of it. Whether the act of the Senate could be regarded as a ratification of the treaty, before this new article should be approved by the British government, and whether

his signature could properly be affixed to it previously to that event, were questions which he took time to consider. A new obstacle was thrown in the way by intelligence from Europe, that the British cabinet had renewed the order for seizing provisions in vessels bound to French ports. As this order might imply a construction of the treaty which could never be admitted in the United States, it was necessary still further to suspend his decision. Viewing the subject in all its relations, however, he inclined to the opinion, that it was best to ratify the treaty with the condition prescribed by the Senate, and at the same time to accompany it with a memorial or remonstrance to the British government against the provision order.

Meantime the treaty was published. At first an imperfect abstract only appeared; but a complete copy was soon after furnished by a member of the Senate to the editor of a newspaper. It thus came clandestinely before the public, without the authority of the executive, and without any of the official documents and correspondence by which the objects and reasons of the negotiators could be explained. It was dissected, criticised, and condemned, in a tone of passionate and violent declamation, which could scarcely have been exceeded if the instrument had reduced the United States to their former colonial dependence on England. The merits of the treaty were studiously kept out of sight, and all its objectionable parts were thrust forward, exaggerated, and censured as disgraceful and humiliating to the nation. It was impossible that a clamour so loud and so universal should not produce a strong impression upon every class of the community. The friends of the administration rallied in its defence, but they used the weapons of reason and argument; they talked of

moderation and peace, of consistency and good faith. They found few patient listeners, and fewer impartial judges. The torrent was neither to be stemmed nor diverted from its course. Public meetings were held; and resolutions and addresses condemning the treaty, and designed to have a popular effect, and to intimidate the executive, were voted, published, and widely circulated among the people.

The first resolves of this sort proceeded from a meeting in Boston. They were forwarded by an express to the President, with a letter from the select men of the town. He received them at Baltimore, while on his way to Mount Vernon. Ten days afterwards, having carefully reviewed the subject, and ascertained the sentiments of the cabinet, he answered the letter. It had been his aim, he said, in every act of his administration, to seek the happiness of his fellow citizens, to discard personal, local, and partial considerations, to look upon the United States as one nation, and to consult only their substantial and permanent interests. "Without a predilection for my own judgment," he added, "I have weighed with attention every argument which has at any time been brought into view. But the Constitution is the guide, which I never can abandon. It has assigned to the President the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was doubtless supposed that these two branches of government would combine, without passion, and with the best means of information, those facts and principles upon which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute for their own conviction the opinions of others, or to seek truth through any channel but that of a temperate and well-informed investigation. Under this persua-

sion, I have resolved on the manner of executing the duty before me. To the high responsibility attached to it I freely submit; and you, gentlemen, are at liberty to make these sentiments known as the grounds of my procedure. While I feel the most lively gratitude for the many instances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwise deserve it than by obeying the dictates of my conscience." To these sentiments he steadily adhered, and he answered many of the addresses sent to him in nearly the same language.

From the excitement that prevailed, however, and from the resolves of meetings in all parts of the country, he soon perceived that a formidable attempt was making to stir up the people, with a view of operating on the executive. To defeat this purpose, and to put an end to the disorders hourly increasing by the combined action of over-heated zeal, artifice, and party spirit, he returned to Philadelphia, summoned the cabinet, and submitted the proposition for immediately ratifying the treaty. It was approved by all the members except the Secretary of State, who, although he had before been in favour of it, now thought the step premature, till the provision order should be revoked, and the war between England and France should cease. This opinion had no effect on the President. He signed the treaty, the order was in due time repealed, and the ratification, on the terms advised by the Senate, was reciprocated by the British government.

It would be impossible, within the limits of the present narrative, to sketch even an outline of the transactions relating to this treaty. No more can be said, than that the controversy occasioned by it increased the violence of party discord to almost an incredible

extent, and that even the motives and character of Washington did not escape a full measure of the abuse which was poured out upon all who approved the acts of the administration. Regardless of truth and decorum, his detractors assailed him with a licence and malignity which shewed an utter despair of accomplishing their ends by honourable means. But however they might excite his commiseration, they could not disturb his peace of mind. "I have long since resolved," said he, writing to the governor of Maryland, "for the present time at least, to let my calumniators proceed without any notice being taken of their invectives by myself, or by any others with my participation or knowledge. Their views, I dare say, are readily perceived by all the enlightened and well-disposed part of the community; and by the records of my administration, and not by the voice of faction, I expect to be acquitted or condemned hereafter."

In relation to the treaty, time disappointed its enemies, and more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends. It saved the country from a war, improved its commerce, and served in no small degree to lay the foundation of its durable prosperity. The great points, which were said to be sacrificed or neglected, the impressment of seamen, neutral rights, and colonial trade, have never yet been settled, and are never likely to be settled satisfactorily, while England maintains the ascendancy she now holds on the ocean.

The day following that on which the President affixed his name to the treaty, Mr. Randolph resigned the office of Secretary of State. The circumstances are these. While Washington was at Mount Vernon, the British minister, Mr. Hammond, put into the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury a letter from M. Fauchet to the French government, which had

been intercepted at sea, whence it found its way to the British cabinet, and was forwarded to Mr. Hammond. The letter was translated by Mr. Pickering, and shewn to the President when he arrived in Philadelphia. Its contents were such as to excite suspicions of Mr. Randolph's conduct. It appeared that his political relations with the French minister had been more intimate and confidential than was compatible with the office he held in the administration. At all events, it seemed a fair inference, from the language of the letter, that M. Fauchet valued his services as having been useful to the French interests, and calculated on them for the future.

In the presence of the other members of the cabinet, the President handed this letter to Mr. Randolph, and asked an explanation. He had not before heard of it; and although he read it without emotion, he expressed much displeasure at the President's manner of bringing it to his notice, and complained that he did not first converse with him on the subject privately. He said that he wished more leisure to examine the letter, before making any detailed remarks on its contents, but added, that, considering the treatment he had received, he could not think of remaining in his office a moment longer. Accordingly he sent in his resignation the same day.

Mr. Randolph published a pamphlet vindicating his conduct, and explaining such parts of the intercepted letter as related to him. From M. Fauchet, who was then on the point of leaving the country, he also obtained a certificate, in which that minister declared, that in his letter he had no intention to say anything to the disadvantage of Mr. Randolph's character. The statements presented by Mr. Randolph in proof of his innocence were not such as to produce entire con-

viction ; but the nature of his task rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for him to adduce positive evidence. He moreover allowed himself to be betrayed into a warmth of temper, and bitterness of feeling, not altogether favourable to his candour. After all that has been made known, the particulars of his conversations with Fauchet, and his designs, are still matters of conjecture.

One fact connected with this affair should be mentioned, as being highly creditable to Washington. In preparing his vindication, Mr. Randolph applied for a certain letter, and intimated that papers were withheld. Washington said, in reply—"That you may have no cause to complain of the withholding of any paper, however private and confidential, which you shall think necessary in a case of so serious a nature, I have directed that you should have the inspection of my letter, agreeably to your request, and you are at full liberty to publish without reserve any and every private and confidential letter I ever wrote to you,—nay, more, every word I ever uttered to you, or in your hearing, from whence you can derive any advantage in your vindication." When it is remembered that Mr. Randolph had been in the cabinet from the beginning of the administration, the liberty here given affords a striking proof of the consciousness felt by Washington of the perfect rectitude of his own proceedings.

Mr. Pickering was transferred from the war department to the office of Secretary of State; and James M'Henry of Maryland was appointed Secretary of War. Mr. Bradford, the Attorney-general, had recently died. He was succeeded by Charles Lee of Virginia.

The foreign relations of the United States had begun to put on a more favourable aspect. Treaties were

negotiated with Spain and Algiers, by which the prisoners who had been in bondage for many years under the latter power, were released, and the difficulties with the former, respecting boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were amicably adjusted. The victory of General Wayne had also smoothed the way to a treaty with the Indians. On this state of affairs the President congratulated both houses of Congress when he met them at the opening of the session.

But the British treaty was destined to be a cause of still further agitation. Great exertions had been made throughout the country to obtain signatures to petitions against it, which were to be presented to the House of Representatives. And when the treaty was submitted to Congress as having been ratified by his Britannic Majesty, the members opposed to it indicated a determined purpose to defeat its operation by refusing to pass the laws necessary for carrying it into effect. The warfare was commenced by a resolution, to which a large majority assented, requesting the President to lay before the House the instructions to Mr. Jay, and the correspondence and other documents relating to the negotiation.

This request imposed a delicate task on the President. In his opinion, the power to form treaties rested wholly with the chief magistrate and the Senate, and he believed that the House of Representatives had no right to make a demand which would imply an encroachment on this power, nor in any manner to interfere with the negotiation of treaties. Yet, in the present excited state of public feeling, a refusal of the request would expose him to the charge of shewing disrespect to the representatives of the people, raise suspicions of his motives, and probably furnish a pre-

text for insinuations that he had personal reasons for concealment.

From the line of duty, however, he was never known to deviate ; and in this case it was too plain to be mistaken. In his answer to the communication from the house, he refused a compliance with the request, and gave his reasons. . He said it was clear to his mind, that the power of making treaties was vested by the Constitution exclusively in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate ; that, having been a member of the convention, he knew this was the understanding of the framers of the Constitution ; that the subject was fully discussed ; that there were reasons for believing the state conventions understood it in the same way ; that this construction had hitherto been acquiesced in by the House of Representatives ; and that a just regard to the Constitution, and to the duty of his office, required him to resist the principle contended for by the house. If allowed to be put in practice, it would destroy the confidence of foreign powers in the executive, derange the government, and lead to the most mischievous consequences, when it would be too late to apply a remedy.

The members who voted for the resolution were not prepared for this refusal, nor did they conceal their disappointment and dissatisfaction. The message gave rise to a debate, which continued for many days, and in which the merits of the treaty, and the constitutional powers of the several departments of the government, were elaborately discussed. Passion, party zeal, eloquence, and argument, were all brought to bear on the subject ; and the speeches shew that both sides of the question were maintained with unusual ability and force of reasoning. In the end, a majority of the members who were opposed to the

treaty yielded to the exigency of the case ; and, probably more from expediency than conviction, united in passing the laws necessary for its fulfilment.

Among the events which contributed to harass the mind and weigh upon the spirits of Washington, none affected him more keenly than the captivity of Lafayette. Gratitude for the services rendered by Lafayette to the United States in times of distress and peril, a respect for his character, founded on a long and intimate acquaintance, and a knowledge of his pure and disinterested principles, had created an ardent attachment, of which many proofs have been exhibited in this narrative, and many others might be added. In proportion to the strength of this attachment was his affliction at the sufferings of his friend.

After receiving the intelligence of his capture, Washington wrote letters to the Marchioness de Lafayette, expressive of his sympathy, and affording all the consolation in his power. His regret was the greater, because, being at the head of the nation, the family of Lafayette, and the friends of humanity in Europe, expected much from his aid ; while, in reality, he could do nothing more, except by his personal influence, than any other individual. Lafayette was a prisoner, first in the Prussian dominions, and next in the Austrian. There was no diplomatic intercourse between those countries and the United States. Hence the American government, without authority to make a demand, or power to enforce it, either directly or through the agency of other governments, could take no decisive steps for his release.

Instructions were sent, and often repeated, to the American ministers at foreign courts, directing them to use all their efforts in his favour. These instructions were faithfully obeyed. Nothing more could be done.

The mediation of the British cabinet was sought, but not obtained. That he might leave no means untried, Washington at last wrote a letter to the Emperor of Germany, stating his friendship for Lafayette, suggesting in delicate terms that his sufferings had, perhaps, been as great as the nature of his case demanded, and requesting that he might be permitted to come to the United States under such restrictions as his Majesty the Emperor might think it expedient to prescribe. What influence this letter may have had on the mind of the Emperor, or on the fate of Lafayette, is not known. When restored to liberty, he was delivered over, by order of the Austrian government, to the American consul at Hamburg.

When the wife and daughters of Lafayette left France to join him in the prison of Olmutz, his son, George Washington Lafayette, came to the United States. He was affectionately received into the family of President Washington, where he resided nearly two years, till he returned to Europe on hearing of the liberation of his father.

Not long after the treaty was conditionally ratified by the Senate, a copy of it was furnished to the French minister, M. Adet, the successor of M. Fauchet. He objected to some parts of it, as at variance with the treaty subsisting between France and the United States. His objections were answered by the Secretary of State, and such explanations were given as shewed that the treaty could in no degree injure the interests of France, and that the government of the United States was resolved faithfully to fulfil their compact with that nation, according to the strict principles of neutrality which it was bound to observe in regard to the belligerent powers of Europe. But the rulers of the French republic had viewed with

jealousy Mr. Jay's negotiation, as diminishing their hope of a war between Great Britain and the United States ; and it is not surprising that they should be quick to find out points in the treaty which, by their construction, might be turned to the disadvantage of France. Foreseeing this result, and anxious to remove every ground of dissatisfaction, Washington caused very full instructions to be sent to Mr. Monroe, that he might be able to explain the articles of the treaty, as understood by the American government, and also their designs and conduct in making it.

From the tenour of Mr. Monroe's letters, and from the proceedings of the French Directory, the President was led to believe that the minister had been backward in using his instructions, and in furnishing the required explanations. It was known, likewise, that he was hostile to the treaty ; and of course, with the best disposition to do his duty, he could hardly enter into the views of the government with the zeal, and represent them with the force of conviction, which the importance of the occasion demanded. The only remedy was to send out another minister. It was resolved, therefore, to recal Mr. Monroe, and make a new appointment. This resolution was unanimously approved by the cabinet. Mr. Monroe was accordingly recalled, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was sent to supply his place.

Some months previously, Mr. Thomas Pinckney had been permitted to return home, having discharged the duties of his office in England, and of a mission for negotiating a treaty at Madrid, to the entire satisfaction of the executive and of his country. Rufus King, who had been a senator from the beginning of the new government, was appointed as his successor at the court of Great Britain.

When the second period of four years, for which Washington had been elected to the Presidency, was approaching its termination, many of his friends, concerned at the present state of the country, and fearing the consequences of the heats and divisions that would arise in choosing his successor, pressed him earnestly to make a still further sacrifice of his inclination to the public good. But his purpose was fixed, and not to be changed. He believed that he had done enough, and that he might now, without any dereliction of duty, resign the helm of government into other hands. Having determined to retire, he thought proper to make this determination known in a formal manner, and at so early a day, as to enable his fellow-citizens to turn their thoughts to other candidates, and prepare for a new election.

Accordingly, his Farewell Address to the people of the United States was published on the 15th of September, nearly six months before his term of office expired. In this paper are embodied the results of his long experience in public affairs, and a system of policy which, in his opinion, was the best suited to insure to his country the blessings of union, peace, and prosperity, and the respect of other nations. For the vigour of its language, the soundness of its maxims, the wisdom of its counsels, and its pure and elevated sentiments, this performance is unrivalled; and the lapse of forty years has rather increased than diminished the admiration with which it was universally received. The sensation which it produced in every class of the community was as strong as it has been permanent. Even the fierce spirit of party could not resist the impulse nor weaken its force. The State legislatures, when they assembled, and other public bodies, voted addresses and thanks to the President,

expressing a cordial approbation of his conduct during the eight years in which he had filled the office of chief magistrate, and their deep regret that the nation was to be deprived of his services. In some of the States, the Farewell Address was printed and published with the laws by order of the legislatures, as an evidence of the value they attached to its political precepts, and of their affection for its author.*

The two houses of Congress came together in December, and Washington met them for the last time. As he had usually done in his former speeches, he first presented a clear and comprehensive view of the condition of the country, and the executive proceedings within the last year, and then recommended to their consideration certain measures which he deemed important. Among these were the gradual increase of the navy, a provision for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, the establishment of a national university, and the institution of a military academy. The relations with France were made the subject of a separate message. At the end of his speech he said—

“The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbitrator of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that

* See the “Farewell Address;” also various particulars relating to it, in the Appendix.

the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual.”

Little was done during the session. Public attention was engrossed with the pending election. The votes of the electors were returned to Congress, and in February they were opened and counted in the presence of both houses. It appeared that John Adams was chosen President, and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President; the former having the highest number of votes, and the latter the next highest. The strength of the parties was tried in this contest. Mr. Adams was supported by the friends of the administration, or the federal party; and Mr. Jefferson by its opponents, or the democratic party.

On the 4th of March, the President elect took the oath of office and assumed its duties. The ceremony was performed in the hall of the House of Representatives, and in the same manner as had been practised on former occasions. Washington was present as a spectator, happy in resigning the burden of his office, and gratified to see it confided to one whose long and patriotic services in the cause of his country rendered him worthy of so high a trust.

The citizens of Philadelphia celebrated the day by a testimony of respect for the man whom they, in common with the whole nation, loved and revered. A splendid entertainment was prepared, which was designed for him as the principal guest, and to which were invited foreign ministers, the heads of the departments, officers of rank, and other distinguished persons. A spacious rotunda was fitted up for the occasion, in which were elegant decorations, emblematical paintings, fanciful devices, and a landscape representing Mount Vernon and the scenery around it—

all conspiring to revive associations connected with the life of Washington.

The following anecdote was communicated by the late Bishop White:—"On the day before President Washington retired from office, a large company dined with him. Among them were the foreign ministers and their ladies, Mr. and Mrs. Adams, Mr. Jefferson, and other conspicuous persons of both sexes. During the dinner, much hilarity prevailed; but on the removal of the cloth, it was put an end to by the President, certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company with a smile, as nearly as can be recollected, in the following words: 'Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness.' There was an end of all pleasantry. He who gives this relation accidentally directed his eye to the lady of the British minister, Mrs. Liston, and tears were running down her cheeks."

Being once more a private citizen, and having already made preparation for his departure, he proceeded immediately with his family to Mount Vernon. In passing along the road, he was welcomed with the same hearty demonstrations of attachment as when clothed with the dignity and power of office. Before he reached Baltimore, he was met by a military escort and a large concourse of the inhabitants, who accompanied him into the city; and it was not till he had actually arrived at his own mansion, in the tranquil retreat of Mount Vernon, that he could say he was no longer a public man.

In reviewing the administration of Washington, now that the effervescence of party is subsided, and in tracing its effects on the formation and progress of

the government, there can hardly be a difference of opinion. No one can doubt its wisdom or its success. Whether another system, more conformable to the views of those who opposed his principal measures, might not have operated equally well, is not a question which needs to be discussed. When a great and permanent good has been done, with the purest motives on the part of the actor, it is not necessary, in forming a just estimate of this good, to inquire by what other means the same end might have been attained.

Notwithstanding the innumerable embarrassments which attended the first operations of the new government, the nation was never more prosperous than while Washington was at its head. Credit was restored, and established on a sound basis; the public debt was secured, and its ultimate payment provided for; commerce had increased beyond any former example; the amount of tonnage in the ports of the United States had nearly doubled; the imports and exports had augmented in a considerably larger ratio; and the revenue was much more abundant than had been expected. The war with the Indians was conducted to a successful issue; and a peace was concluded which promised quiet to the frontier inhabitants, and advantages to the uncivilized tribes. Treaties had been made with foreign powers, in which long-standing disputes were amicably settled, contending claims adjusted, and important privileges gained to the United States. The relations with France alone remained in a state of incertitude and perplexity; and this was owing to the condition of affairs in Europe, and not to anything that had grown out of the acts or policy of the American government.

Much having been said and published respecting Mr. Jefferson's conduct towards Washington, after

the former retired from the office of Secretary of State, it may have been expected that some additional facts would appear in this narrative. Such an expectation, however, I have no means of gratifying. Among Washington's papers I have found nothing which can afford any new elucidation. It has been supposed that, after his death, certain papers were abstracted from his manuscripts, which contained matters unfavourable to Mr. Jefferson. He was in the habit of writing his diary in small books, and some of these books, written during the period in question, are missing. It may be observed also that, for the last three or four years of his life, there is no record of a correspondence between him and Mr. Jefferson, nor any papers of importance in which the name of the latter is more than incidentally alluded to. When I mentioned the subject to Judge Washington, he replied cautiously that he had never charged any person with having abstracted papers. Indeed, the nature of the case scarcely admitted of positive proof. But, without discussing the question, or examining the conjectural evidence which has been adduced, I will only remark that I am convinced the suspicion of papers having been taken away for the purpose alleged must rest on a very slight foundation.

There can be no doubt, however, that Washington's feelings were wounded by some parts of Mr. Jefferson's conduct, as well as by conversations which were reported to him as having been held at Monticello. He had reposed unlimited confidence in Mr. Jefferson, and shewn towards him at all times a sincere and unwavering attachment; and he was not prepared to receive the returns of ingratitude and disrespect which these conversations seemed to imply. The famous letter to Mazzei, however it may be explained, could

not have been read by Washington without pain. The unqualified censure of the administration which it contained necessarily included him as the head of the administration. After he retired from the Presidency, an insidious letter was sent to him through the post-office, the object of which was to draw from him political remarks and opinions. It was accidentally discovered that this letter was subscribed with a fictitious signature, and that it came from a person who resided near Mr. Jefferson, associated intimately with him, and participated in his political sentiments. It was not ascertained, nor perhaps fully believed, that Mr. Jefferson was accessory to this proceeding; but the circumstances were such as to make a strong impression upon the mind of Washington. It is also remarkable that, while Mr. Jefferson was Vice-President, although he passed near Mount Vernon in his journeys between Monticello and Philadelphia, to attend Congress at two regular sessions, and one extra session before Washington's death, he never paid him a visit, nor saw him after they separated at the time of Mr. Adams's inauguration.

A decisive judgment on this subject ought not to be formed, however, without considering the position in which Mr. Jefferson was placed, and his own testimony. As the head of a party opposed to the administration, he was the centre of action to that party; and he would necessarily be led to remark on public transactions and to express his disapprobation of them. At such times, his conversation may have been misinterpreted by his watchful opponents as applying to Washington, when in reality he had in view only the system of measures to which he gave his support. If it is difficult in this case to separate the measures from the man, and the censure of the one

from that of the other, it must be remembered that the difficulty is inherent in the case itself, and that there was no other way by which Mr. Jefferson could escape from it, entertaining such opinions as he did, than by abstaining altogether from speaking on public affairs. This forbearance was not to be expected, nor was it to be required of him more than of any other person.

Again, Mr. Jefferson has affirmed that no correspondence took place between him and Washington during the interval in which none has been found among the papers of the latter; that he always believed him to be firmly attached to the republican principles of the constitution, and determined to sustain them at all hazards; and that neither in the letter to Mazzei, nor on any other occasion, did he intend to include Washington among those whom he charged with moulding the government into monarchical and aristocratical forms. The substance of this declaration is often repeated in his published letters. In one of these, describing the character of Washington, he says, " His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man." These considerations seem to shew at least that, whatever may have been Mr. Jefferson's feelings, or the part he acted, in times of warm political strife, a calm review of the past, at a later period, brought him to a just estimate of the character and conduct of Washington. But, after all, it is not easy to be convinced, even by his own statements, that he is not in some degree chargeable with delinquency towards him during the latter years of his life.

Being established again at Mount Vernon, and freed from public toils and cares, Washington returned to the same habits of life and the same pursuits which he had always practised at that place. It required neither time nor new incitements to revive a taste for occupations which had ever afforded him more real enjoyment than any others. Although he had been able to exercise a partial supervision over his private affairs, yet he found that, after an absence of eight years, much was to be done to repair his houses, restore his farms to the condition in which he had left them, and complete his favourite system of agriculture. To these employments he devoted himself with as lively an interest as if nothing had occurred to interrupt them.

In writing to a friend a few weeks after he arrived at Mount Vernon, he said that he began his daily course with the rising of the sun, and first made preparations for the business of the day. "By the time I have accomplished these matters," he adds, "breakfast is ready. This being over, I mount my horse and ride round my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss to see strange faces, come, as they say, out of respect to me. And how different is this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board. The usual time of sitting at table, a walk, and tea, bring me within the dawn of candlelight; previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve that, as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing-table, and acknowledge the letters I have received. Having given you this history of a day, it will serve for a year." And in this manner a year passed away, and with no other variety than that of the change of visitors, who came

from all parts to pay their respects or gratify their curiosity.

But, in the midst of these scenes, it once more became his duty to yield to the claim of his country. The French Directory had rejected the overtures for a reconciliation, and committed outrages and insults against the United States, which no independent nation could bear. Mr. Pinckney, the American plenipotentiary, had been treated with indignity, first by a refusal to receive him as minister, and next by an order to leave the territories of the Republic. At the same time, depredations were made upon American commerce by French cruisers, in violation of the treaty which had subsisted between the two nations. President Adams summoned Congress, submitted the subject to them, and recommended preparations for military defence. That no method might be left unattempted for bringing about a reconciliation and insuring peace, two envoys extraordinary, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, were sent out to join Mr. Pinckney. The three envoys proceeded to Paris, but their mission was unsuccessful.

It seems that the rulers of France had been deceived into a belief, that the people of the United States would not sustain their government in a war against that country. The opposition shewn to the British treaty had contributed to foster this delusion; and indeed the conduct of the French ministers in the United States, from the time Genet arrived at Charleston, had clearly indicated a design to separate the people from the government. Such was the confidence of the Executive Directory in this hope, and such their ignorance of the American character, that they had the effrontery to demand money of the envoys as a preliminary to any negotiation for settling

the differences between the two nations. This demand was made under the pretence of a redress of grievances, in consequence, as it was alleged, of the unfavourable operation of the British treaty, and of the system of neutrality adopted by the American government. So degrading a proposal could not of course be regarded in any other light than as an insult.

Nothing now remained to be done but to prepare for war. Congress authorized the President to enlist ten thousand men, as a provisional army, and to call them into actual service, if war should be declared against the United States, or whenever in his opinion there should be danger of an invasion.

As soon as it was foreseen that a resort to arms might be necessary, all eyes were turned upon Washington as the individual to be placed at the head of the army. The weight of his name was of the utmost importance to produce unanimity in the leaders, and secure the confidence and support of the people. "You ought to be aware," said Hamilton, in writing to him, "that, in the event of an open rupture with France, the public voice will again call you to command the armies of your country; and, though all who are attached to you will, from attachment as well as public considerations, deplore an occasion, which should once more tear you from that repose to which you have so good a right, yet it is the opinion of all those with whom I converse that you will be compelled to make the sacrifice. All your past labours may demand, to give them efficacy, this further, this very great sacrifice." The President also wrote to him—"We must have your name, if you will permit us to use it. There will be more efficacy in it than in many an army." This letter was written before

any appointments had been made. The following is an extract from Washington's reply:—

“ From a view of the past and the present, and from the prospect of that which seems to be expected, it is not easy for me to decide satisfactorily on the part it might best become me to act. In case of *actual invasion* by a formidable force, I certainly should not intrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling it. And, if there be good cause, which must be better known to the government than to private citizens, to expect such an event, delay in preparing for it might be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty, however, of the event, in my mind, creates my embarrassment ; for I cannot fairly bring it to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country, after such a uniform and unequivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes.”

Before receiving this reply, the President had nominated him to the Senate as Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. The nomination was unanimously confirmed on the 3rd of July, the day after it was made. The Secretary of War was dispatched in person to Mount Vernon as the bearer of the commission. Washington accepted the appointment with two reservations ; first, that the principal officers should be such as he approved ; secondly, that he should not be called into the field till the army was in a condition to require his presence, or till it

became necessary by the urgency of circumstances. He added, however, that he did not mean to withhold any assistance he could afford in arranging and organizing the army; and, in conformity with the rule he had always followed, he declined receiving any part of the emoluments annexed to his appointment, until he should be in a situation to incur expense.

There was much embarrassment in appointing the principal officers. Some of those who had served in the revolution were prominent candidates for appointments in the new army. It became a question, whether their former rank should be taken into account. If this were decided in the affirmative, it would deprive the army of the services of men whose talents, activity, and influence, were of the greatest moment, but who would not accept subordinate places. It was the opinion of Washington that, since the old army had long been disbanded, and a new one was now to be formed upon different principles and for a different object, no regard ought to be paid to former rank, but that the best men should be selected, and so arranged as most effectually to promote the public good. This opinion prevailed.

The inspector-general was to be the second in command, and there were to be likewise two major-generals. For these offices Washington proposed Alexander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Henry Knox, who were to rank in the order in which their names here stand. They were thus appointed. The President was not satisfied with the arrangement. His choice for the inspector-general rested upon Knox, but he acquiesced in the decision of Washington. Unfortunately, General Knox was displeased with the arrangement, and declined ac-

cepting his commission. He believed that his former services gave him higher claims than could be advanced for the two younger officers who were placed over him.

From this time to the end of his life a great part of Washington's attention was taken up with the affairs of the new army. His correspondence with the Secretary of War, the major-generals, and other officers, was unremitted and very full, entering into details and communicating instructions, which derived value from his long experience and perfect knowledge of the subject. His letters during this period, if not the most interesting to many readers, will ever be regarded as models of their kind, and as affording evidence that the vigour and fertility of his mind had not decreased with declining years. He passed a month at Philadelphia, where he was assiduously employed with Generals Hamilton and Pinckney in making arrangements for raising and organizing the army. After the plan was finished, he applied himself, with all the ardour of his younger days, to effect its execution.

He never seriously believed that the French would go to the extremity of invading the United States. But it had always been a maxim with him, that a timely preparation for war afforded the surest means of preserving peace; and on this occasion he acted with as much promptitude and energy as if the invaders had been actually on the coast. His opinion proved to be correct, and his prediction was verified. When it was discovered that a war with the United States would not be against the government alone, but that the whole people would rise to resist aggression and maintain their rights and dignity as a nation, the French rulers relaxed into a more

pacific temper. Intimations were given by them of a willingness to co-operate in effecting a friendly and equitable adjustment of existing differences. Listening to these overtures, the President again appointed three envoys extraordinary, and invested them with full powers to negotiate with the French government. When they arrived in Paris, they found Bonaparte at the head of affairs, who, having taken no part in the preceding disputes, and perceiving no advantage in continuing them, readily assented to an accommodation. No event was more desired by Washington, but he did not live to participate in the joy with which the intelligence was received by his countrymen.

Since his retirement from the Presidency, his health had been remarkably good ; and although age had not come without its infirmities, yet he was able to endure fatigue and make exertions of body and mind with scarcely less inconvenience than he had done in the prime of his strength. On the 12th of December he spent several hours on horseback, riding to his farms, and giving directions to his managers. He returned late in the afternoon, wet and chilled with the rain and sleet, to which he had been exposed while riding home. The water had penetrated to his neck, and snow was lodged in the locks of his hair. A heavy fall of snow the next day prevented his going abroad, except for a short time near his house. A sore throat and hoarseness convinced him that he had taken cold ; but he seemed to apprehend no danger from it. He passed the evening with the family, read the newspapers, and conversed cheerfully till his usual hour for going to rest.

In the night he had an ague, and before the dawn of day the next morning, which was Saturday, the

14th, the soreness in his throat had become so severe that he breathed and spoke with difficulty. At his request he was bled by one of his overseers, and in the meantime a messenger went for Dr. Craik, who lived nine miles off, at Alexandria. As no relief was obtained by bleeding, and the symptoms were such as to alarm the family, another messenger was dispatched for Dr. Brown, who resided nearer Mount Vernon. These physicians arrived in the morning, and Dr. Dick in the course of the day. All the remedies which their united counsel could devise were used without effect.

His suffering was acute and unabated through the day, but he bore it with perfect composure and resignation. Towards evening, he said to Dr. Craik—"I die hard, but I am not afraid to die. I believed from my first attack that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long." From that time he said little, except to thank the physicians for their kindness, and request they would give themselves no more trouble, but let him die quietly. Nothing farther was done, and he sank gradually till between ten and eleven o'clock at night, when he expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the full possession of his mental faculties; exhibiting in this short and painful illness, and in his death, the same example of patience, fortitude, and submission to the Divine will, which he had shewn in all the acts of his life. On Wednesday, the 18th of December, his remains were deposited in the family tomb at Mount Vernon.*

Congress was at this time in session at Philadelphia; and when the news of the melancholy event arrived at the seat of government, both houses imme-

* See "Last Illness and Death of Washington."

diately adjourned for the remainder of the day. The next morning, as soon as the House of Representatives had convened, Mr. Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice, rose in his place, and addressed the Speaker in an eloquent and pathetic speech, briefly recounting the public acts of Washington. "Let us, then," said he, at the conclusion, "pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the Grand Council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels." He then offered three resolutions, previously prepared by General Henry Lee, which were accepted. By these it was proposed, that the house should in a body wait on the President to express their condolence; that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members and officers of the house be dressed in black, during the session; and that a committee, in conjunction with a committee from the Senate, should be appointed "to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

The Senate testified their respect and sorrow by similar proceedings. A joint committee of the two houses was appointed, who reported resolutions recommending that a marble monument should be erected to commemorate the great events in the military and political life of Washington; that an oration suited to the occasion should be pronounced in the presence of both houses of Congress; that the people of the United States should wear crape on the left arm thirty days as a badge of mourning; and that the President, in the name of Congress, should be requested to write a letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington. These resolutions were unanimously adopted. The funeral ceremonies were appropriate and solemn.

A procession, consisting of the members of the two houses, public officers, and a large assemblage of citizens, moved from the hall of Congress to the German Lutheran Church, where a discourse was delivered by General Lee, then a representative in Congress.*

But no formal act of the national legislature was required to stir up the hearts of the people, or to remind them of the loss they had sustained in the death of a man whom they had so long been accustomed to love and revere, and the remembrance of whose deeds and virtues was so closely connected with that of their former perils, and of the causes of their present prosperity and happiness. The mourning was universal. It was manifested by every token which could indicate the public sentiment and feeling. Orators, divines, journalists, and writers of every class, responded to the general voice in all parts of the country, and employed their talents to solemnize the event, and to honour the memory of him who, more than any other man of ancient or modern renown, may claim to be called **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.**†

* See "Proceedings in Congress," &c.

† Bonaparte rendered unusual honours to the name of Washington, not long after the event of his death was made known in France. By what motives he was prompted, it is needless to inquire. At any rate, both the act itself and his manner of performing it are somewhat remarkable, when regarded in connexion with his subsequent career. He was then First Consul. On the 9th of February, he issued the following order of the day to the army:—"Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all free men of the two worlds; and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have combated for liberty and equality." The First Consul likewise ordered that, during ten days, black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the Republic. On the same day a splendid ceremony took place in the Champ de Mars, and the trophies brought by the army from Egypt were displayed with great pomp. Immediately after this ceremony was over, a funeral oration, in honour of Washington (*Eloge Funèbre de Washington*), was pro-

The person of Washington was commanding, graceful, and fitly proportioned; his stature six feet, his chest broad and full, his limbs long and somewhat slender, but well shaped and muscular. His features were regular and symmetrical, his eyes of a light blue colour, and his whole countenance, in its quiet state, was grave, placid, and benignant. When alone, or not engaged in conversation, he appeared sedate and thoughtful; but when his attention was excited, his eye kindled quickly, and his face beamed with animation and intelligence. He was not fluent in speech, but what he said was apposite, and listened to with the more interest as being known to come from the heart. He seldom attempted sallies of wit or humour, but no man received more pleasure from an exhibition of them by others; and, although contented in seclusion, he sought his chief happiness in society, and participated with delight in all its rational and innocent amusements. Without austerity on the one hand, or an appearance of condescending familiarity on the other, he was affable, courteous, and cheerful; but it has often been remarked that there was a dignity in his person and manner not easy to be defined, which impressed every one that saw him for the first time with an instinctive deference and awe. This may have

nounced by M. de Fontanes, in the Hôtel des Invalides, then called the Temple of Mars. The First Consul and all the civil and military authorities of the capital were present.

It may here be mentioned that Washington was never a marshal of France, as has often been repeated.

Another tribute was paid to his memory, which is worthy of being recorded. About the time that the news of his death arrived in England, the British fleet, which had recently chased the French fleet into the harbour of Brest, was lying at Torbay, and consisted of nearly sixty ships of the line. Lord Bridport, who had the command, on hearing the intelligence, lowered his flag half-mast. His example was followed by the whole fleet. This fact was communicated to me by an American gentleman who was on board one of the ships at the time.

arisen in part from a conviction of his superiority, as well as from the effect produced by his external form and deportment.

The character of his mind was unfolded in the public and private acts of his life ; and the proofs of his greatness are seen almost as much in the one as the other. The same qualities which raised him to the ascendancy he possessed over the will of a nation, as the commander of armies and chief magistrate, caused him to be loved and respected as an individual. Wisdom, judgment, prudence, and firmness, were his predominant traits. No man ever saw more clearly the relative importance of things and actions, or divested himself more entirely of the bias of personal interest, partiality, and prejudice, in discriminating between the true and the false, the right and the wrong, in all questions and subjects that were presented to him. He deliberated slowly, but decided surely ; and when his decision was once formed, he seldom reversed it ; and never relaxed from the execution of a measure till it was completed. Courage, physical and moral, was a part of his nature ; and whether in battle or in the midst of popular excitement, he was fearless of danger and regardless of consequences to himself.

His ambition was of that noble kind which aims to excel in whatever it undertakes, and to acquire a power over the hearts of men by promoting their happiness and winning their affections. Sensitive to the approbation of others, and solicitous to deserve it, he made no concessions to gain their applause, either by flattering their vanity or yielding to their caprices. Cautious without timidity, bold without rashness, cool in counsel, deliberate but firm in action, clear in foresight, patient under reverses, steady, persevering,

and self-possessed, he met and conquered every obstacle that obstructed his path to honour, renown, and success. More confident in the uprightness of his intentions than in his resources, he sought knowledge and advice from other men. He chose his counsellors with unerring sagacity; and his quick perception of the soundness of an opinion, and of the strong points in an argument, enabled him to draw to his aid the best fruits of their talents, and the light of their collected wisdom.

His moral qualities were in perfect harmony with those of his intellect. Duty was the ruling principle of his conduct; and the rare endowments of his understanding were not more constantly tasked to devise the best methods of effecting an object, than they were to guard the sanctity of conscience. No instance can be adduced in which he was actuated by a sinister motive, or endeavoured to attain an end by unworthy means. Truth, integrity, and justice, were deeply rooted in his mind; and nothing could rouse his indignation so soon, or so utterly destroy his confidence, as the discovery of the want of these virtues in any one whom he had trusted. Weakness, follies, indiscretions, he could forgive; but subterfuge and dishonesty he never forgot, rarely pardoned. He was candid and sincere, true to his friends and faithful to all, neither practising dissimulation, descending to artifice, nor holding out expectations which he did not intend should be realized. His passions were strong, and sometimes they broke out with vehemence, but he had the power of checking them in an instant. Perhaps self-control was the most remarkable trait of his character. It was in part the effect of discipline; yet he seems by nature

to have possessed this power in a degree which has been denied to other men.

A Christian in faith and practice, he was habitually devout. His reverence for religion is seen in his example, his public communications, and his private writings. He uniformly ascribed his successes to the beneficent agency of the Supreme Being. Charitable and humane, he was liberal to the poor, and kind to those in distress. As a husband, son, and brother, he was tender and affectionate. Without vanity, ostentation, or pride, he never spoke of himself or his actions, unless required by circumstances which concerned the public interests. As he was free from envy, so he had the good fortune to escape the envy of others, by standing on an elevation which none could hope to attain. If he had one passion more strong than another, it was love of his country. The purity and ardour of his patriotism were commensurate with the greatness of its object. Love of country in him was invested with the sacred obligation of a duty ; and from the faithful discharge of this duty he never swerved for a moment, either in thought or deed, through the whole period of his eventful career.

Such are some of the traits in the character of Washington which have acquired for him the love and veneration of mankind. If they are not marked with the brilliancy, extravagance, and eccentricity, which in other men have excited the astonishment of the world, so neither are they tarnished by the follies nor disgraced by the crimes of those men. It is the happy combination of rare talents and qualities, the harmonious union of the intellectual and moral powers, rather than the dazzling splendour of any one trait, which constitute the grandeur of his character. If

the title of great man ought to be reserved for him who cannot be charged with an indiscretion or a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory, and durable prosperity of his country, who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honour, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle, this title will not be denied to Washington.

END OF LIFE.

WASHINGTON'S
DIARIES, SPEECHES,
ETC.

WASHINGTON'S DIARIES.

WASHINGTON'S EARLY PAPERS.

AMONG the earliest papers found in the archives at Mount Vernon, were the fragments of manuscripts written by Washington during his boyhood and youth. These are chiefly confined to his school exercises in arithmetic and geometry, and are of little value. They are remarkable only for the neatness of the handwriting, a beautiful method, accuracy in drawing the geometrical figures, and as indicating the strong bent of his inclination to mathematical studies. Some of his original field-books, and a brief journal of one of his expeditions as a surveyor of lands, are also preserved. A few short extracts from these papers may not be amiss, as shewing the turn of his mind in early youth, and other traits in some degree characteristic.

The first manuscript in the order of dates was written when he was thirteen years old, filling thirty folio pages, and entitled "*Forms of Writing*." It consists for the most part of forms used in the various transactions of business, such as a note of hand, bill of exchange, bond, indenture, lease, and will, copied out with much exactness and care. Then follow two or three poetical selections, among which are lines on *True Happiness*, abounding more in sentiment than poetry. But the most curious piece in the manuscript

is a series of maxims, under the head of “ *Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation.*” One hundred and ten rules are here written out and numbered. The source from which they were derived is not mentioned. They form a minute code of regulations for building up the habits of morals, manners, and good conduct, in a very young person. A few specimens will be enough to shew their general complexion; and whoever has studied the character of Washington will be persuaded that some of its most prominent features took their shape from these rules thus early selected and adopted as his guide.

“ 1. Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

“ 2. In the presence of others sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.

“ 3. Sleep not when others speak, sit not when others stand, speak not when you should hold your peace, walk not when others stop.

“ 4. Turn not your back to others, especially in speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one.

“ 5. Be no flatterer; neither play with any one that delights not to be played with.

“ 6. Read no letters, books, or papers, in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it, you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them, unless desired, nor give your opinion of them unasked; also, look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

“ 7. Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters somewhat grave.

“ 8. Shew not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

“ 9. When you meet with one of greater quality than yourself, stop and retire, especially if it be at a door or any strait place, to give way for him to pass. \

“ 10. They that are in dignity, or in office, have in all places precedence ; but whilst they are young they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth, or other qualities, though they have no public charge.

“ 11. It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves, especially if they be above us, with whom in no sort we ought to begin.

“ 12. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

“ 13. In visiting the sick, do not presently play the physician, if you be not knowing therein.

“ 14. In writing, or speaking, give to every person his due title, according to his degree and the custom of the place.

“ 15. Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.

“ 16. Undertake not to teach your equal in the art himself professes ; it savours of arrogancy.

“ 17. When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

“ 18. Being to advise or reprehend any one consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, in what terms to do it ; and in reproof, shew no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.

“ 19. Take all admonitions thankfully, in what time or place soever given ; but afterwards, not being culpable, take a time or place convenient to let him know it that gave them.

“ 20. Mock not, nor jest at anything of importance ; break no jests that are sharp-biting, and if you

deliver anything witty and pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.

“ 21. Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself ; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

“ 22. Use no reproachful language against any one, neither curse, nor revile.

“ 23. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

“ 24. In your apparel, be modest, and endeavour to accommodate nature rather than to procure admiration ; keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly, with respect to times and places.

“ 25. Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

“ 26. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone than in bad company.

“ 27. Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature ; and in all causes of passion, admit reason to govern.

“ 28. Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.

“ 29. Utter not base and frivolous things amongst grave and learned men ; nor very difficult questions or subjects amongst the ignorant ; nor things hard to be believed.

“ 30. Speak not of doleful things in time of mirth, nor at the table ; speak not of melancholy things, as death and wounds, and if others mention them, change, if you can, the discourse. Tell not your dreams, but to your intimate friend.

“ 31. Break not a jest where none takes pleasure in mirth ; laugh not aloud, nor at all without occa-

sion. Deride no man's misfortune, though there seem to be some cause.

“ 32. Speak not injurious words, neither in jest nor earnest ; scoff at none, although they give occasion.

“ 33. Be not forward, but friendly and courteous ; the first to salute, hear, and answer ; and be not pensive when it is a time to converse.

“ 34. Detract not from others, neither be excessive in commending.

“ 35. Go not thither, where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice without being asked, and when desired, do it briefly.

“ 36. If two contend together, take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your own opinion ; in things indifferent be of the major side.

“ 37. Reprehend not the imperfections of others, for that belongs to parents, masters, and superiors.

“ 38. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others, and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend, deliver not before others.

“ 39. Speak not in an unknown tongue in company, but in your own language, and that as those of quality do, and not as the vulgar ; sublime matters treat seriously.

“ 40. Think before you speak, pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.

“ 41. When another speaks, be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience. If any hesitate in his words, help him not, nor prompt him, without being desired ; interrupt him not, nor answer him, till his speech be ended.

“ 42. Treat with men at fit times about business, and whisper not in the company of others.

“ 43. Make no comparisons, and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.

“ 44. Be not apt to relate news, if you know not the truth thereof. In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.

“ 45. Be not curious to know the affairs of others, neither approach to those that speak in private.

“ 46. Undertake not what you cannot perform, but be careful to keep your promise.

“ 47. When you deliver a matter, do it without passion, and with discretion, however mean the person be you do it to.

“ 48. When your superiors talk to anybody, hearken not, neither speak, nor laugh.

“ 49. In disputes, be not so desirous to overcome as not to give liberty to each one to deliver his opinion, and submit to the judgment of the major part, especially if they are judges of the dispute.

“ 50. Be not tedious in discourse ; make not many digressions, nor repeat often the same manner of discourse.

“ 51. Speak not evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

“ 52. Make no show of taking great delight in your victuals ; feed not with greediness ; cut your bread with a knife ; lean not on the table ; neither find fault with what you eat.

“ 53. Be not angry at table, whatever happens, and if you have reason to be so, shew it not ; put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humour makes one dish of meat a feast.

“ 54. Set not yourself at the upper end of the table ; but if it be your due, or that the master of the

house will have it so, contend not, lest you should trouble the company.

“ 55. When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it be seriously in reverence. Honour and obey your natural parents, although they be poor.

“ 56. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

“ 57. Labour to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience.”

The list might be extended, but these specimens will answer the purpose here designed, which is to indicate the sources of some of the impressions that contributed to form the character of Washington.

His military propensities early discovered themselves, and at the age of fourteen he was seized with a desire to enter the navy. His brother Lawrence, who was himself a military man, approved this choice, and procured for him a midshipman's warrant. At first his mother seemed to consent, though reluctantly, to this project; but as the time of separation approached, her maternal feelings, and more mature reflection, caused her to waver in her decision, and finally to oppose the wishes of her son and his friends. The following is an extract from a letter written to Lawrence Washington by his father-in-law, William Fairfax, and dated September 10th, 1746.

“ George has been with us, and says he will be steady, and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend. I gave him his mother's letter to deliver, with a caution not to shew his. I have spoken to Dr. Spencer, who I find is often at the widow's [Mrs. Washington's], and has some influence to persuade her to think better of your advice in putting George to sea with good recommendations.”

The following extract, on the same subject, was written by Mr. Robert Jackson to Lawrence Wash-

ington, and dated at Fredericksburg, October 18th, 1746 :—

“ I am afraid Mrs. Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to intimate a dislike to George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it was a bad scheme. She offers several trifling objections, such as fond, unthinking mothers habitually suggest ; and I find that one word against his going has more weight than ten for it. Colonel Fairfax seems desirous he should go, and wished me to acquaint you with Mrs. Washington's sentiments. I intend shortly to take an opportunity to talk with her, and will let you know the result.”

These are the only written facts which I have found relating to this incident in the life of Washington. It is known that his mother's opposition continued, and that on this account the plan of his going to sea was abandoned. The feelings of the mother will not be thought unnatural or unreasonable, when it is remembered that he was her eldest son, that his father had been dead three years and a half, and that she was left with five younger children.

His predilection for mathematical studies made him soon acquainted with the art of surveying lands, and he became a practical surveyor at the age of sixteen. He went into the woods upon a surveying tour among the Allegany mountains, accompanied by Mr. George Fairfax, in March, 1748, being then but just sixteen years old. He kept a rough journal, or diary, extracts from which form the next separate paper.

In the little volume which contains this journal are the rough drafts of letters written during the same period. They are imperfect, and of very little importance. One of them is descriptive of his adventures.

“DEAR RICHARD,

“The receipt of your kind favour of the 2nd instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure, as it convinces me that I am still in the memory of so worthy a friend—a friendship I shall ever be proud of increasing. Yours gave me the more pleasure, as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed, but, after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bear skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit of my going out, and sometimes six pistoles. The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay, as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Frederictown.”

From the tenour of two or three of the letters, it would appear that the charms of some beauty among his acquaintances had made an early assault upon the heart of the young hero.

“DEAR FRIEND ROBIN,

“As it is the greatest mark of friendship and esteem, which absent friends can shew each other, to write and often communicate their thoughts, I shall endeavour from time to time, and at all times, to acquaint you with my situation and employments in life, and I could wish you would take half the pains to send me a letter by any opportunity, as you may be well assured of its meeting with a very welcome reception.

“My place of residence at present is at his Lordship’s [Lord Fairfax’s], where I might, were my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there is a very agreeable young lady in the same house, Colonel George Fairfax’s wife’s sister. But that only adds fuel to the fire, as being often and unavoidably in company with her revives my former passion for your Lowland beauty ; whereas, were I to live more retired from young women, I might in some measure alleviate my sorrow by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in oblivion ; and I am very well assured that this will be the only antidote or remedy.”

The desponding tone of this letter is reiterated in others. How long the tender sentiment had possession of his heart, or whether he ever had the courage to explain himself to the young lady, is not ascertained.* For three years he was occupied nearly all the time, when the season would permit, in surveying wild lands among the Allegany mountains in Virginia, and on the various southern branches of the Potomac River. His mode of life in this occupation may be understood from the above extracts from his journal. It was exposed to peculiar hardships and privations, with none of the refinements or comforts of civilization. The country was an entire wilderness. The fatigue and endurance were such, that he was rarely out but a few weeks at a time. His home was with his brother, Lawrence Washington, at Mount Vernon, though he passed portions of his time with his mother at Fredericksburg.

The following letter, dated the 5th of May, 1749,

* Washington became also enamoured of a Miss Mary Phillips, at Boston, eight years subsequently to this his “first love.” See *Life*, p. 78, vol. i., where it is also stated that he “indited plaintive verses” to the “Lowland beauty” here spoken of.—*Eng. Ed.*

was written to his brother Lawrence, then in Williamsburg, probably attending as a member of the House of Burgesses, as it is known that he was a delegate for that year:—

“DEAR BROTHER,

“I hope your cough is much mended since I saw you last. If so, I trust you have given over all thoughts of leaving Virginia. As there is not an absolute occasion of my coming down, I hope you will get the deeds acknowledged without me. My horse is in very poor order to undertake such a journey, and is in no likelihood of mending, for want of corn sufficient to support him; though if there be any certainty of the Assembly's not rising until the latter end of May, I will, if I can, be down by that time.

“As my mother's term of years is out at the place at Bridge Creek, she designs to settle a quarter* on the piece at Deep Run, but seems backward in doing it, till the right is made good, for fear of accident. It is reported here that Mr. Spotswood intends to put down the ferry at the wharf where he now lives, and that Major Francis Taliaferro intends to petition the Assembly to have it kept from his house over against my mother's quarter, and through the very heart and best of the land; whereas he can have no other view in it than for the convenience of a small mill, which he has on the water-side, that will not grind above three months in the twelve, and on account of the great inconvenience and prejudice it will be to us, I hope it will not be granted. Besides, I do not see where he can possibly have a landing-place on his side that will ever be sufficient for a lawful landing, by reason of the steepness of the banks. I think we

* Place of residence for the families of negro labourers.

suffer enough from the free ferry, without being troubled with such an unjust and iniquitous petition as that ; but I hope, as it is only a flying report, that he will consider better of it, and drop his pretensions.

“ I shall be glad, if it is not too much trouble, to hear from you. In the meantime, I remain, with my love to my sister, dear Sir, your affectionate brother.”

George was so much indebted on many accounts to his brother Lawrence that it is proper in this place to bestow upon this brother the tribute of a passing notice. The father, whose name was Augustine Washington, was twice married, first to Jane Butler, and afterwards to Mary Ball. The fruit of the first marriage was three sons and a daughter ; and of the second, four sons and two daughters. The eldest son by the first marriage was called Butler, who died young. Lawrence was the second son, and was born about the year 1718. George was the eldest son by the second marriage. Dr. Burnaby, in the appendix to the third edition of his “ *Travels in America*,” says that Lawrence was educated in England. However this may be, it is evident from several of his manuscript letters which I have seen that he was a gentleman of a good education and of highly respectable parts. He joined the army, and received a captain's commission, dated June 9th, 1740. He was assigned to a company in a regiment to be raised in America, under the command of Colonel Alexander Spotswood, designed for the West India service, and to act in the Spanish war. The regiment was transported to Jamaica early in 1741, where it was united with the British forces in time to take a part in the unsuccessful siege of Carthagená, conducted by Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, in March of that year. After the failure of the expedition, the fleet sailed back

to Jamaica, where the land forces were stationed, except during a few months in the summer season, when, for reasons not known, they were taken to Cuba. Captain Washington returned to Virginia near the close of the year 1742, having been absent about two years.

At this time he had an intention of joining his regiment in England, with the view of seeking promotion in the army, where he had good hopes of success under the friendly auspices of General Wentworth. But as he soon afterwards married Anne Fairfax, daughter of William Fairfax, and a relative of Lord Fairfax, he changed his mind, and resolved to abandon the army. Meantime his father died, April 12th, 1743, leaving him, as the eldest son then living, in charge of his estate and family. He had already obtained the post of adjutant—a colonial appointment of some consideration, from which he derived the rank of major, and the more substantial remuneration of one hundred and fifty pounds a year. When the officers of his regiment obtained a grant of half-pay in England, he declined receiving it, on the ground that he could not conscientiously take the oath required, while he held the adjutancy in Virginia. He purchased an estate on the banks of the Potomac, which he called Mount Vernon in honour of Admiral Vernon, and here he resided during the remainder of his life. His time was chiefly devoted to his private affairs, as the duties of his adjutancy were only occasional and at stated periods. He was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and likewise a principal agent in forming the Ohio Company.

Naturally of a delicate constitution, his health began to decline soon after his return from the military expedition to the West Indies, till at length it was as-

sailed by a consumption, which made rapid and fatal ravages. By the advice of his physicians he went to England, hoping to derive benefit from the voyage, but he returned in a few months without essential relief. For the same object he passed a summer, but with little advantage, at the Bath Springs, in Virginia, then surrounded by a wilderness. A voyage to the West Indies was the last remedy, and he sailed for Barbadoes on the 28th of September, 1751, and arrived there about the 3rd of November. His brother George, to whom he was much attached, accompanied him on this voyage.

Having spent the winter at Barbadoes, the climate not having afforded the relief he expected, he went to Bermuda, in March, 1752, his brother George, in the meantime, having sailed for Virginia. All his hopes, however, were fallacious. Although his disorder sometimes put on a more flattering aspect, and inspired a momentary confidence, yet it was gradually making its encroachments with a sure and deadly progress. He hastened back to Virginia, and arrived only in time to receive the last melancholy greetings of his friends. He died in his own house at Mount Vernon, July 26th, 1752, at the age of thirty-four, and his remains were deposited in the same vault in which were afterwards entombed those of his illustrious brother.

George kept a journal of his voyage to Barbadoes and back, and during his short residence on the island. At the time of his brother's death, George was at Mount Vernon, and the care and immediate affairs of the family devolved on him. That place continued to be his residence, till he was called from home by public duties. Lawrence Washington left an only child, a daughter, who died at the age of

eighteen, having been sickly from her birth. The widow married George Lee, and the estate at Mount Vernon became the property of George Washington, as an inheritance from his brother, who from the time of his father's death had shewn for him a parental, as well as fraternal attachment, and rendered him many services of kindness and affection. Mrs. Lee died on the 19th of November, 1761. Judge Marshall says that George received an appointment as one of the adjutants-general of Virginia, in the year 1751, with the rank of major, when he was yet only nineteen years old. This post was probably obtained through the influence of his brother. After Governor Dinwiddie came to Virginia, the colony was divided into four military districts, and an adjutant assigned to each. George Washington's appointment was then renewed (November, 1753), and he was stationed over the northern district. The duties consisted in exercising the officers and inspecting the militia at stated times, in the manner prescribed by law.

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL OF A SURVEYING TOUR
AMONG THE ALLEGANIES.*

[WASHINGTON, when just a month from the day he was sixteen, was intrusted with the responsible service of surveying the immense tracts of lands, belonging to Lord Fairfax, in the rich valleys of the Allegany Mountains, which had never been before surveyed—a task which he executed in a manner to give entire

* Vol. i. p. 14.

satisfaction to his employer, and to establish his reputation as a surveyor. The following extracts are from his rough journal, or diary, kept at the time.]

“ *March 13th.*—Rode to his Lordship’s [Lord Fairfax’s] quarter. About four miles higher up the river Shenandoah, we went through most beautiful groves of sugar trees, and spent the best part of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land.

“ *14th.*—We sent our baggage to Captain Hite’s, near Fredericktown [afterwards Winchester], and went ourselves down the river about sixteen miles, (the land exceedingly rich all the way, producing abundance of grain, hemp, and tobacco,) in order to lay off some land on Cate’s Marsh and Long Marsh.

“ *15th.*—Worked hard till night, and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly and went into the bed, as they called it, when to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or anything else but only one threadbare blanket with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire.

“ *18th.*—We travelled to Thomas Berwick’s on the Potomac, where we found the river exceedingly high, by reason of the great rains that had fallen among the Alleghanies. They told us it would not be fordable for several days, it being now six feet higher than usual, and rising. We agreed to stay till Monday. We this

day called to see the famed Warm Springs.* We camped out in the field this night.

“ 20th.—Finding the river not much abated, we in the evening swam our horses over to the Maryland side.

“ 21st.—We went over in a canoe, and travelled up the Maryland side all day in a continued rain to Colonel Cresap’s, over against the mouth of the South Branch, about forty miles from our place of starting in the morning, and over the worst road I believe that ever was trod by man or beast.

“ 23rd.—Rained till about two o’clock and then cleared up, when we were agreeably surprised at the sight of more than thirty Indians coming from war with only one scalp. We had some liquor with us, of which we gave them a part. This, elevating their spirits, put them in the humour of dancing. We then had a war-dance. After clearing a large space and making a great fire in the middle, the men seated themselves around it, and the speaker made a grand speech, telling them in what manner they were to dance. After he had finished, the best dancer jumped up as one awaked from sleep, and ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner. He was followed by the rest. Then began their music, which was performed with a pot half full of water and a deerskin stretched tight over it, and a gourd with some shot in it to rattle, and a piece of horse’s tail tied to it to make it look fine. One person kept rattling and another drumming all the while they were dancing.

“ 25th.—Left Cresap’s and went up to the mouth of Patterson’s Creek. There we swam our horses

* The mineral springs at Bath, in Virginia, afterwards and at the present day the resort of many visitors in the summer season.

over the Potomac, and went over ourselves in a canoe, and travelled fifteen miles, where we camped.

“ 26th.—Travelled up to Solomon Hedge’s, *Esquire*, one of *his Majesty’s justices of the peace* in the county of Frederic, where we camped. When we came to supper, there was neither a knife on the table nor a fork to eat with ; but, as good luck would have it, we had knives of our own.

“ 28th.—Travelled up the South Branch (having come to that river yesterday), about thirty miles to Mr. J. R.’s (horse jockey), and about seventy miles from the mouth of the river.

“ 29th.—This morning went out and surveyed five hundred acres of land. Shot two wild turkeys.

“ 30th.—Began our intended business of laying off lots.

“ *April 2nd.*—A blowing, rainy night. Our straw upon which we were lying took fire, but I was luckily preserved by one of our men awaking when it was in a flame. We have run off four lots this day.

“ 4th.—This morning Mr. Fairfax left us, with the intention to go down to the mouth of the river. We surveyed two lots, and were attended with a great company of people, men, women, and children, who followed us through the woods, shewing their antic tricks. They seem to be as ignorant a set of people as the Indians. They would never speak English ; but when spoken to they all spoke Dutch. This day our tent was blown down by the violence of the wind.

“ 6th.—The last night was so intolerably smoky that we were obliged to leave our tent to the mercy of the wind and fire. Attended this day by the afore-said company.

“ 7th.—This morning one of our men killed a wild turkey that weighed twenty pounds. We surveyed

fifteen hundred acres of land, and returned to Vanmeter's about one o'clock. I took my horse and went up to see Mr. Fairfax. We slept in Cassey's house, which was the first night I had slept in a house since we came to the Branch.

“ 8th.—We breakfasted at Cassey's, and rode down to Vanmeter's to get our company together, which when we had accomplished, we rode down below the *Trough* to lay off lots there. The *Trough* is a couple of ledges of mountains impassable, running side by side for seven or eight miles, and the river between them. You must ride round the back of the mountains to get below them. We camped in the woods, and after we had pitched our tent and made a large fire, we pulled out our knapsack to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits were forked sticks ; our plates were large chips. As for dishes we had none.

“ 10th.—We took our farewell of the Branch, and travelled over hills and mountains to Cuddy's on Great Cacapehon, about forty miles.

“ 12th.—Mr. Fairfax got safe home, and I to my brother's house at Mount Vernon, which concludes my Journal.”

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL AT BARBADOES.*

[LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, half-brother to George, having been recommended a voyage to the West Indies for his health, they both being much attached to each other, sailed for Barbadoes on the 28th of September, 1751, and arrived there about the 3rd of November. George kept a journal of his voyage

* Vol. i. p. 17 ; also “ Washington's Early Papers.”

there and back, and during his short residence on the island. Time and accidents, however, have made such breaches in the manuscript that little can now be gathered from it. The following are a few extracts. The remarks at the end were made on his departure.]

“ *November 4th*, 1751.—This morning received a card from Major Clarke, welcoming us to Barbadoes, with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went,—myself with some reluctance, as the small-pox was in his family. We were received in the most kind and friendly manner by him. Mrs. Clarke was much indisposed, insomuch that we had not the pleasure of her company, but in her place officiated Miss Roberts, her niece, and an agreeable young lady. After drinking tea we were again invited to Mr. Carter's, and desired to make his house ours, till we could provide lodgings agreeable to our wishes, which offer we accepted.

“ *5th*.—Early this morning came Dr. Hilary, an eminent physician recommended by Major Clarke, to pass his opinion on my brother's disorder, which he did in a favourable light, giving great assurances that it was not so fixed but that a cure might be effectually made. In the cool of the evening we rode out, accompanied by Mr. Carter, to seek lodgings in the country, as the Doctor advised, and were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view—the fields of cane, corn, fruit-trees, &c., in a delightful green. We returned without accomplishing our intentions.

“ *7th*.—Dined with Major Clarke, and by him was introduced to the Surveyor-general and the judges, who likewise dined there. In the evening they complaisantly accompanied us in another excursion into

the country to choose lodgings. We pitched on the house of Captain Croftan, commander of James's Fort. He was desired to come to town next day to propose his terms. We returned by the way of Needham's Fort.

“ 8th.—Came Captain Croftan with his proposals, which, though extravagantly dear, my brother was obliged to accept. Fifteen pounds a month were his terms, exclusive of liquor and washing, which we find. In the evening we removed some of our things up, and went ourselves. It is very pleasantly situated near the sea, and about a mile from town. The prospect is extensive by land and pleasant by sea, as we command a view of Carlyle Bay and the shipping.

“ 9th.—Received a card from Major Clarke, inviting us to dine with him at Judge Maynard's to-morrow. He had a right to ask, being a member of a club called the *Beef-steak and Tripe*, instituted by himself.

“ 10th.—We were genteelly received by Judge Maynard and his lady, and agreeably entertained by the company. They have a meeting every Saturday, this being Judge Maynard's day. After dinner there was the greatest collection of fruits set on the table that I have yet seen,—the granadilla, sapadilla, pomegranate, sweet orange, water-lemon, forbidden fruit, apples, guavas, &c. We received invitations from every gentleman there. Mr. Warren desired Major Clarke to shew us the way to his house. Mr. Hackett insisted on our coming Saturday next to his, it being his day to treat with beef-steak and tripe. But above all, the invitation of Mr. Maynard was most kind and friendly. He desired, and even insisted, as well as his lady, on our coming to spend some weeks with him, and promised nothing should be wanting to render our stay agreeable. My brother promised he

would accept the invitation, as soon as he should be a little disengaged from the doctors.

“ 15th.—Was treated with a ticket to see the play of *George Barnwell* acted. The character of Barnwell and several others were said to be well performed. There was music adapted and regularly conducted.

“ 17th.—Was strongly attacked with the smallpox. Sent for Dr. Lanahan, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out, which were not till Thursday the 12th of December.

“ *December 12th.*—Went to town and called on Major Clarke's family, who had kindly visited me in my illness, and contributed all they could in sending me the necessaries which the disorder required. On Monday last began the grand session, and this day was brought on the trial of Colonel C., a man of opulent fortune and infamous character. He was brought in guiltless, and saved by a single evidence, who was generally reckoned to have been suborned.

“ 22nd.—Took leave of my brother, Major Clarke, and others, and embarked on board the *Industry* for Virginia. Weighed anchor and got out of Carlyle Bay about twelve o'clock.

“ The Governor of Barbadoes seems to keep a proper state, lives very retired and at little expense, and is a gentleman of good sense. As he avoids the errors of his predecessor, he gives no handle for complaint; but, at the same time, by declining much familiarity, he is not over-zealously beloved.

“ There are several singular risings in this island, one above another, so that scarcely any part is deprived of a beautiful prospect, both of sea and land, and, what is contrary to observation in other countries, each elevation is better than the next below. There are many delicious fruits, but as they are par-

ticularly described by Mr. Hughes, in his Natural History of the Island, I shall say nothing further than that the China orange is good. The avagavo pear is generally most admired, though none pleases my taste so well as the pine. The earth in most parts is extremely rich, and as black as our richest marsh meadows. The common produce of the cane is from forty to seventy polls of sugar, each poll valued at twenty shillings, out of which a third is deducted for expenses. Many acres last year produced in value from one hundred and forty to one hundred and seventy pounds, as I was informed by credible authority, though that was in ginger, and a very extraordinary year for the sale of that article. How wonderful that such people should be in debt, and not be able to indulge themselves in all the luxuries as well as necessities of life. Yet so it happens. Estates are often alienated for debts. How persons coming to estates of two, three, and four hundred acres (which are the largest), can want, is to me most wonderful. One-third of their land, or nearly that portion, is generally in train for harvest. The rest is in young cane, Guinea corn (which greatly supports their negroes), yams, plantains, potatoes, and the like, and some small part left waste for stock. Provisions are generally very indifferent, but much better than the same quantity of pasturage would afford in Virginia. The very grass that grows among their corn is not lost, but carefully gathered for provender for their stock.

“ Hospitality and a genteel behaviour are shewn to every gentleman stranger by the gentlemen inhabitants. Taverns they have none, except in the towns; so that travellers are obliged to go to private houses. The people are said to live to a great age where they are not intemperate. They are, however, very un-

happy in regard to their officers' fees, which are not paid by any law. They complain particularly of the provost-marshal, or sheriff-general, of the island, patented at home and rented at eight hundred pounds a year. Every other officer is exorbitant in his demands. There are few who may be called middling people. They are very rich or very poor; for by a law of the island, every gentleman is obliged to keep a white person for every ten acres, capable of acting in the militia, and consequently, the persons so kept cannot but be very poor. They are well disciplined, and appointed to their several stations; so that in any alarm every man may be at his post in less than two hours. They have large intrenchments cast up wherever it is possible to land, and as nature has greatly assisted the island, it may not improperly be said to be one entire fortification."

WASHINGTON'S OFFICIAL TOUR OVER THE ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS. (1753-4.)*

[INTELLIGENCE had been received from time to time that the French were making encroachments on what was deemed British territory beyond the Allegany mountains. Messengers were sent out for observation and inquiry, who had brought back various reports, and particularly that a French army was approaching from Canada, with a view to erect fortifications on the Ohio river, and take possession of the whole country, in the name of the French king. As this region was supposed to be within the limits of Virginia, Governor Dinwiddie regarded it as his duty, in conformity with his instructions, to watch the motions

* Vol. i. p. 36.

of the French, and make preparations for defending the British claims. He resolved to send a commissioner duly authorized to demand of the principal French officer his designs, to ascertain facts, and to make such observations as his opportunities would allow. Major Washington was selected for this arduous undertaking. His knowledge of the Indians, his practical acquaintance with the modes of living and travelling in the woods, acquired in his surveying expeditions, and the marked traits of character which he had already displayed were doubtless the qualities that recommended him for this delicate and important mission, although he was not yet twenty-two years of age.

His journal, as here given, was published in London at the time, under the auspices of the government, and accounted a document of much importance, as unfolding the views of the French, and announcing the first positive proof of their hostile acts in the disputed territories. It is curious, not only as a narrative, but as indicating some of the strong traits of the writer's character.]

JOURNAL OF A TOUR, ETC.

“I was commissioned and appointed by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., Governor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day ;* the next, I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage, horses, &c., and from thence we pursued the new

* 31st of November, 1753.

road to Will's Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November.

“Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, Barnaby Currin, and John M'Quire, Indian traders, Henry Steward, and William Jenkins; and in company with those persons, left the inhabitants the next day.

“The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on Monongahela River, until Thursday, the 22nd. We were informed here that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French general's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter-quarters.

“The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the Fork of the Ohio, about ten miles; there to cross the Allegany.

“As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty, or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles, Allegany bearing northeast, and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

“ About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him, to invite him to counsel at the Logstown.

“ As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the Fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages ; especially the latter. For a fort at the Fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water-carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the Fork might be built at much less expense than at the other places.

“ Nature has well contrived this lower place for water-defence ; but the hill whereon it must stand, being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself cut away ; otherwise the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort.

“ Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sun-setting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. We travelled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

“ As soon as I came into town, I went to Monac-toocho (as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian inter-

preter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour, and returned.

“According to the best observations I could make, Mr. Gist’s new settlement (which we passed by) bears about west northwest seventy miles from Will’s Creek ; Shannopins, or the Fork, north by west, or north northwest, about fifty miles from that ; and from thence to the Logstown the course is nearly west about eighteen or twenty miles ; so that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, is at least one hundred and thirty-five, or one hundred and forty miles from our back inhabitants.

“25th.—Came to town, four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. I got the following account from them. They were sent from New Orleans with a hundred men, and eight canoe loads of provisions to this place, where they expected to have met the same number of men, from the forts on this side of Lake Erie, to convoy them and the stores up, who were not arrived when they ran off.

“I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers, and what forts they had built. They informed me that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about thirty or forty men, and a few small pieces in each. That at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five

companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage guns ; and at the Black Islands there are several companies, and a fort with six guns. The Black Islands are about a hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about three hundred and fifty above New Orleans. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Obaish, about sixty leagues from the Mississippi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. These deserters came up from the lower Shannoah town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

“ About three o’clock this evening, the Half-King came to town. I went up and invited him, with Davidson, privately, to my tent, and desired him to relate some of the particulars of his journey to the French commandant, and of his reception there ; also, to give me an account of the ways and distance. He told me that the nearest and levellest way was now impassable, by reason of many large, miry savannas ; that we must be obliged to go by Venango, and should not get to the near fort in less than five or six night’s sleep, good travelling. When he went to the fort, he said he was received in a very stern manner by the late commander, who asked him very abruptly what he had come about, and to declare his business, which he said he did in the following speech :—

“ ‘ Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches, what your own mouths have declared. Fathers, you, in former days, set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of a beaver, and desired all the nations to come and eat of it, to eat in peace

and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another ; and that if any such person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with ; and if your father should get foolish, in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

“ ‘ Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land, by coming and building your towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

“ ‘ Fathers, we kindled a fire a long time ago at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place ; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land, and not yours.

“ ‘ Fathers, I desire you may hear me in civilness ; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us as they do ; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land, and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.

“ ‘ Fathers, both you and the English are white, we live in a country between ; therefore, the land belongs to neither one nor the other. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us ; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English ; for I will keep you at arm's length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you ; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land.’

“ This, he said, was the substance of what he spoke to the general, who made this reply :—

“ ‘ Now, my child, I have heard your speech ; you spoke first, but it is my time to speak now. Where is my wampum that you took away with the marks of towns on it ? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with ; but you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those ; I tell you down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open, and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances ; for my force is as the sand upon the sea shore ; therefore, here is your wampum ; I sling it at you. Child, you talk foolish ; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. I saw that land sooner than you did ; before the Shannoahs and you were at war. Lead was the man who went down and took possession of that river. It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up for, or say against it. I will buy and sell with the English (mockingly.) If people will be ruled by me, they may expect kindness, but not else.’

“ The Half-King told me he had inquired of the general after two Englishmen who were made prisoners, and received this answer :—

“ ‘ Child, you think it a very great hardship that I made prisoners of those two people at Venango. Don’t you concern yourself with it ; we took and carried them to Canada, to get intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia.’

“ He informed me that they had built two forts, one on Lake Erie, and another on French Creek, near

a small lake, about fifteen miles asunder, and a large wagon-road between. They are both built after the same model, but different in size ; that on the lake the largest. He gave me a plan of them of his own drawing.

“ The Indians inquired very particularly after their brothers in Carolina gaol.

“ They also asked what sort of a boy it was who was taken from the South Branch ; for they were told by some Indians that a party of French Indians had carried a white boy by Kuskuska Town, towards the lakes.

“ 26th.—We met in council at the long-house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows :—

“ ‘ Brothers, I have called you together in council, by order of your brother, the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent with all possible dispatch to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers the English ; and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

“ ‘ I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the Governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

“ ‘ His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way, and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you, brothers, because his Honour, our Governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum.’

“ After they had considered for some time on the above discourse, the Half-King got up and spoke :—

“ ‘ Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother the Governor had desired of me, I return you this answer :—

“ ‘ I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers, and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me ; and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your guard.

“ ‘ Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech-belt is not here ; I have to go for it to my hunting-cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this ; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

“ ‘ I intend to send the guard of Mingoës, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them.’

“ As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the time he had appointed, and told me that he could not consent to our going without a guard, for fear some accident should befall us, and draw a reflection upon him. Besides, said he, this is a matter of no small moment, and must not be entered into without due consideration ; for I intend to deliver up the French speech-belt, and make the Shannoahs and Delawares do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to King Shingiss, who was present, to attend

on Wednesday night with the wampum ; and two men of their nation to be in readiness to set out with us the next morning. As I found it was impossible to get off without affronting them in the most egregious manner, I consented to stay.

“ I gave them back a string of wampum which I met with at Mr. Frazier's, and which they sent with a speech to his Honour the Governor, to inform him that three nations of French Indians, — namely, Chippewas, Ottowas, and Orundaks, had taken up the hatchet against the English ; and desired them to repeat it over again. But this they postponed doing until they met in full council with the Shannoah and Delaware chiefs.

“ 27th.—Runners were dispatched very early for the Shannoah chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the French speech-belt from his hunting-cabin.

“ 28th.—He returned this evening, and came with Monacatoocha and two other sachems to my tent, and begged (as they had complied with his Honour the Governor's request, in providing men, &c.) to know on what business we were going to the French. This was a question I had all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory answers as I could ; which allayed their curiosity a little.

“ Monacatoocha informed me that an Indian from Venango brought news a few days ago that the French had called all the Mingoes, Delawares, &c. together at that place ; and told them that they intended to have been down the river this fall, but the waters were growing cold, and the winter advancing, which obliged them to go into quarters ; but that they might assuredly expect them in the spring with a far greater number ; and desired that they might be quite passive, and not intermeddle unless they had a

mind to draw all their force upon them ; for that they expected to fight the English three years (as they supposed there would be some attempts made to stop them), in which time they should conquer. But that if they should prove equally strong, they and the English would join to cut them all off, and divide the land between them ; that though they had lost their general and some few of their soldiers, yet there were men enough to reinforce them, and make them masters of the Ohio.

“ This speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain Joncaire, their interpreter-in-chief, living at Venango, and a man of note in the army.

“ 29th.—The Half-King and Monacatoocha came very early, and begged me to stay one day more ; for notwithstanding they had used all the diligence in their power, the Shannoah chiefs had not brought the wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in to-night ; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. When I found them so pressing in their request, and knew that the returning of wampum was the abolishing of agreements, and giving this up was shaking off all dependence upon the French, I consented to stay, as I believed an offence offered at this crisis might be attended with greater ill consequence than another day's delay. They also informed me that Shingiss could not get in his men, and was prevented from coming himself by his wife's sickness (I believe by fear of the French), but that the wampum of that nation was lodged with Kustalogo, one of their chiefs, at Venango.

“ In the evening, late, they came again, and acquainted me that the Shannoahs were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the prosecution of our

journey. He delivered in my hearing the speech that was to be made to the French by Jeskakake, one of their old chiefs, which was giving up the belt the late commandant had asked for, and repeating nearly the same speech he himself had done before.

“He also delivered a string of wampum to this chief, which was sent by King Shingiss, to be given to Kustalogo, with orders to repair to the French, and deliver up the wampum.

“He likewise gave a very large string of black and white wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations, if the French refused to quit the land at this warning, which was the third and last time, and was the right of this Jeskakake to deliver.

“30th.—Last night, the great men assembled at their council house, to consult further about this journey, and who were to go; the result of which was, that only three of their chiefs, with one of their best hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the 26th, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

“We set out about nine o'clock with the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter; and travelled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without anything remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

“This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on the Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

“We found the French colours hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an

English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

“The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a licence to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

“They told me that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it; for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side Ontario Lake. But upon the death of the general, all were recalled, to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty, or thereabout, in each. The first of them is on French Creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north northwest; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other; from this it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying-place, at the Falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort, at which they lodge their goods in bring-

ing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario Lake. Between this fort and Montreal, there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks' voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels, so that they may cross the lake ; but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

“ *December 5th.*—Rained excessively all day, which prevented our travelling. Captain Joncaire sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general ; but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company ; I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of very great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest ; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

“ When they came in there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents, and applied liquor so fast that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.

“ *6th.*—The Half-King came to my tent quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and

hear what he had to say to the French. I fain would have prevented him from speaking anything until he came to the commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this place a council-fire was kindled, where all their business with these people was to be transacted, and that the management of the Indian affairs was left solely to Monsieur Joncaire. As I was desirous of knowing the issue of this, I agreed to stay ; but sent our horses a little way up French Creek, to raft over and encamp, which I knew would make it near night.

“ About ten o’clock they met in council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the general ; and offered the French speech-belt which had before been demanded, with the marks of four towns on it, which Monsieur Joncaire refused to receive, but desired him to carry it to the fort to the commander.

“ 7th.—Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson (the Indian interpreter), whom I brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could not get them over to my tent ; for they had some business with Kustalogo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech-belt which he had in keeping ; but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over to-day to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

“ At twelve o’clock, we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th by excessive rains, snows, and bad travelling through many

mires and swamps ; these we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

“ We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several extensive and very rich meadows, one of which, I believe, was nearly four miles in length, and considerably wide in some places.

“ 12th.—I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter ; both of which he desired me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

“ This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

“ At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c. again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it ; which I did.

“ 13th.—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

“ It is situated on the south or west fork of French Creek, near the water ; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bas-

tions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pounds pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store; round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark and some with boards made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c.

"I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me to take an exact account of the canoes, which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and told fifty of birch bark, and a hundred and seventy of pine; besides many others, which were blocked out, in readiness for being made.

"14th.—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shannopin's Town, at the Fork of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Allegany, intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

"As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with

me, I endeavoured all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace, and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which, he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

“I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past; and that the Indians had two or three white men’s scalps, (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight,) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours as they were carrying him past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James M’Clocklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with

all their goods. They told me that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

“ This evening I received an answer to his Honour the Governor’s letter from the commandant.

“ 15th.—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provision to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure ; presents, rewards, and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practised to win the Half-King to their interest ; and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms to go ; he told me that the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment ; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay ; though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, if they would wait until the morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

“ 16th.—The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the

present, they then endeavoured to try the power of liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this ; but I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his word that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

“We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had liked to have been staved against rocks ; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place, the ice had lodged and made it impassable by water ; we were therefore obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22nd, where we met with our horses.

“This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles, to follow the meanders.

“23rd.—When I got things ready to set off, I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable to walk ; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favour. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favour ; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet at the Fork with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honour the

Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, &c., if wanted.

“ Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking-dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day ; the cold increased very fast ; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing ; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods on foot.

“ Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in travelling.

“ I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's Town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We

took this fellow into custody, and kept him till about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our tract as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

“There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work ; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off ; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet water ; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

“The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen ; and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war ; but coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and

scalped (all but one woman with very light hair), they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say, they were French Indians of the Ottoway nation who did it.

“As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of Youghiogany, to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

“Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2nd, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Will's Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st day of December to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

“On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest, and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his Honour the Governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to

do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey.

“ I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honour satisfied with my conduct, for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it.”

WASHINGTON'S DIARY. (1760.)*

[HAVING married in January, 1759, Washington retired to Mount Vernon, and for a period of fifteen years till the beginning of the revolution, devoted his time to the pursuit of agriculture, and to his duties as a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, of which he was a constant attendant, sustaining in its elevated dignity and worth the character of a country gentleman. The following extracts are from his Diary during the earlier portion of this period.]

“ *January 1st.*—Visited my plantations, and received an instance of Mr. F.'s great love of money, in disappointing me of some pork because the price had risen to twenty-two shillings and sixpence, after he had engaged to let me have it at twenty. Found Mrs. Washington upon my arrival broke out with the measles.

“ *2nd.*—Mrs. Barnes, who came to visit Mrs. Washington yesterday, returned home in my chariot, the weather being too bad to travel in an open carriage, which, together with Mrs. Washington's indisposition, confined me to the house, and gave me an opportunity of posting my books and putting them in good order.

* Vol. i. p. 109, 111.

“ 3rd.—Hauled the seine and got some fish, but was near being disappointed of my boat by means of an oysterman, who had lain at my landing, and plagued me a good deal by his disorderly behaviour.

“ 4th.—The weather continued drizzling and warm, and I kept the house all day. Mrs. Washington seeming to be very ill, I wrote to Mr. Green this afternoon, desiring his company to visit her in the morning.

“ 5th.—Mrs. Washington appeared to be something better. Mr. Green, however, came to see her about 11 o'clock, and in an hour Mrs. Fairfax arrived. Mr. Green prescribed, and just as we were going to dinner, Captain Walter Stuart appeared with Dr. Laurie. The evening being very cold, and the wind high, Mrs. Fairfax went home in the chariot.

“ 6th.—The chariot not returning time enough from Colonel Fairfax's, we were prevented from going to church. Mrs. Washington was a good deal better to-day; but the oysterman still continuing his disorderly behaviour at my landing, I was obliged in the most peremptory manner to order him and his company away, which he did not incline to obey till the next morning.

“ 7th.—Accompanied Mrs. Bassett to Alexandria, and engaged a keg of butter of Mr. Kirkpatrick, being quite out of that article. Wrote from thence to Dr. Craik to endeavour if possible to engage me a gardener from the regiment, and returned in the dusk of the evening.

“ 8th.—Directed an indictment to be formed by Mr. Johnston against J. B. for a fraud in some iron he sold me.

“ 12th.—Set out with Mrs. Bassett on her journey to Port Royal. The morning was clear and fine, but soon clouded and threatened much rain or other fall-

ing weather, which is generally the case after a remarkable white frost, as it was to-day. We passed Occoquan without any great difficulty, notwithstanding the wind was something high, and lodged at Mr. M'Crae's in Dumfries, sending the horses to the tavern. Here I was informed that Colonel C. was disgusted at my house, and left it because he saw an old negro there resembling his own image.

" 16th.—I parted with Mr. Gisbourne, leaving Colonel Champe's before the family was stirring, and about ten o'clock reached my mother's, where I breakfasted, and then went to Fredericksburg with my brother Samuel, whom I found there. About noon it began snowing, the wind at north-west, but not cold. Was disappointed of seeing my sister Lewis, and getting a few things which I wanted out of the stores. Returned in the evening to my mother's; all alone with her.

" 17th.—The snow had turned to rain, and occasioned a sleet, the wind at north-east, and the ground covered about an inch and a half with snow; the rain continued with but little intermission till noon, and then came on a mist which lasted till night. About noon I set out from my mother's, and just at dusk arrived at Dumfries.

" 18th.—Continued my journey home, the mist continuing till noon, when the wind got southerly, and being very warm, occasioned a great thaw. I however found Potomac River quite covered with ice. Dr. Craik at my house.

" 28th.—Visited my plantation; severely reprimanded young Stephens for his indolence, and his father for suffering it. Found the new negro, Cupid, ill of a pleurisy at Dogue Run quarter, and had him brought home in a cart for better care of him.

" 29th.—White frost, and wind at south till three

o'clock, then north-west, but not very cold ; clear all day. Cupid was extremely ill all this day ; and at night, when I went to bed, I thought him within a few hours of breathing his last.

“ *February 1st.*—Visited my plantations ; found Foster had been absent from his charge since the 28th ultimo ; left orders for him to come immediately to me upon his return ; reprehended him severely.

“ *5th.*—Visited my plantations and found to my great surprise Stephens constant at work. Grig and Lucy nothing better. Passing by my carpenters that were hewing, I found that four of them, viz.—George, Tom, Mike, and young Billy, had only hewed one hundred and twenty feet yesterday from ten o'clock. Sat down therefore and observed Tom and Mike, in a less space than thirty minutes, clear the bushes from about a poplar stock, line it ten feet long, and hew each his side twelve inches deep. Then letting them proceed their own way, they spent twenty-five minutes more in getting the cross-cut saw, standing to consider what to do, sawing the stock off in two places, putting it on the blocks for hewing it square and lining it. From this time till they had finished the stock entirely required twenty minutes more, so that in the space of one hour and a quarter, they each of them, from the stump, finished twenty feet of hewing ; from hence it appears very clear that, allowing they work only from sun to sun, and require two hours at breakfast, they ought to yield each his one hundred and twenty-five feet, while the days are at their present length, and more in proportion as they increase.

“ While this was doing, George and Billy sawed thirty feet of plank, so that it appears that, making the same allowance as before (but not for the time required in piling the stock), they ought to saw one hundred and

eighty feet of plank. It is to be observed that this hewing and sawing likewise were of poplar ; what may be the difference, therefore, between the working of this wood and other, some future observations must make known.

“ 10th.—Ordered all the men from the different quarters to assemble at Williamson’s quarter in the morning to move Petit’s house.

“ 11th.—Went out early myself and continued with my people till one o’clock, in which time we got the house about two hundred and fifty yards ; was informed then that Mr. Digges was at my house, upon which I returned, finding him and Dr. Laurie there. The ground being soft and deep, we found it no easy matter, with twenty hands, eight horses, and six oxen, to get this house along. Exceeding clear and fine ; wind northwardly.

“ 12th.—A small frost happening last night to crust the ground, caused the house to move much lighter, and by nine o’clock it was got to the spot on which it was intended to stand.

“ 14th.—Mr. Clifton came here, and we conditioned for his land,—namely, if he is not bound by some prior engagement, I am to have all his land in the Neck (five hundred acres about his house excepted) and the land commonly called Brent’s for one thousand six hundred pounds currency, he getting Messrs. Digges to join in making me a good and sufficient title. But note, I am not bound to ratify this bargain unless Colonel Carlyle will let me have his land adjoining Brent’s at half a pistole an acre.

“ 15th.—Went to a ball at Alexandria, where music and dancing were the chief entertainment ; however, in a convenient room detached for the purpose, abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some bis-

cuits, with tea and coffee, which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water sweetened. Be it remembered that pocket-handkerchiefs served the purposes of table-cloths and napkins, and that no apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the style and title of the bread and butter ball. The proprietors of this ball were, Messrs. Carlyle, Laurie, and Robert Wilson; but the Doctor, not getting it conducted agreeably to his own taste, would claim no share of the merit of it.

“21st.—Visited at Mr. Clifton’s, and rode over his lands, but in an especial manner viewed that tract called Brent’s, which pleased me exceedingly at the the price he offered it at,—viz. half a pistole an acre, provided Colonel Carlyle’s three hundred acres just below it could be annexed at the same price; and this but a few months ago he offered it at, but now seeming to set a higher value upon it, and at the same time putting on an air of indifference, induced me to make Clifton another offer for his land,—viz. one thousand seven hundred pounds currency for all his lands in the Neck, including his own plantation, which offer he readily accepted, upon condition of getting his wife to acknowledge her right of dower to it; and of his success in this he was to inform me in a few days.

“22nd.—Waited on Lord Fairfax at Belvoir, and engaged him to dine at Mount Vernon on Monday next.

“26th.—Made an absolute agreement with Mr. Clifton for his land (so far as depended upon him) on the following terms,—to wit, I am to give him one thousand one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for his Neck lands, containing one thousand eight hundred and six acres, and to allow him the use of this plantation he lives on till fall twelve months. He on his part is to procure the gentlemen of Maryland, to whom

his lands are under mortgage, to join in a conveyance, and is to put me in possession of the land so soon as this can be done; he is not to cut down any timber, nor clear any ground, nor to use more wood than shall be absolutely necessary for fences and firing; neither is he to assent to any alterations of tenants, or transferring of leases; but on the contrary, is to discourage every practice that has a tendency to lessen the value of the land. N.B. He is also to bring Mr. Mercer's opinion concerning the validity of a private sale made by himself.—Bottled thirty-five dozen of cider; the weather very warm and cloudy, with some rain last night.

“29th.—A very great circle round the moon.

“*March 2nd.*—Mr. Clifton came here to-day, and under pretence of his wife's not consenting to acknowledge her right of dower, wanted to disengage himself from the bargain he had made with me for his land, on the 26th past.

“6th.—Fitted a two-eyed plough, instead of a duck-bill plough, and with much difficulty made my chariot wheel horses plough.

“7th.—Put the pole-end horses into the plough in the morning, and put in the postilion and hind horse in the afternoon, but the ground being well swarded over, and very heavy ploughing, I repented putting them in at all, for fear it should give them a habit of stopping in the chariot.

“11th.—Visited at Colonel Fairfax's, and was informed that Clifton had sold his land to Mr. Mason for one thousand two hundred pounds sterling, which fully unravelled his conduct on the 2nd instant.

“13th.—Mulatto Jack returned home with the mares he was sent for; but so poor were they, and so much abused had they been by my rascally overseer, that

they were scarce able to go, much less to assist in the business of the plantations.

“14th.—Mr. Carlyle and his wife still remained here. We talked a good deal of a scheme of setting up iron works on Colonel Fairfax’s land on Shenandoah. Mr. Chapman, who was proposed as a partner, being a perfect judge of these matters, was to go up and view the conveniences and determine the scheme.

“17th.—Went to my mill and took a view of the ruins which the fresh had caused; determined, however, to repair it with all expedition, and accordingly set my carpenters to making wheel and hand barrows.

“18th.—Went to the court, partly on my own private business, and partly on Clifton’s affair; but, the commissioners not meeting, nothing was done in regard to the latter. Much discourse happened between him and me concerning his ungenerous treatment of me; the whole turning to little account, it is not worth reciting here; the result of which was, that for fifty pounds more than Mr. Mason offered him, he undertook, if possible, to disengage himself from that gentleman, and to let me have his land. I did not think myself restrained by any rules of honour and conscience from making him this offer, as his lands were first engaged to me by the most solemn assurance that any man could give.

“19th.—Peter (my smith) and I, after several efforts to make a plough after a new model, partly of my own contriving, were fain to give it over, at least for the present.

“26th.—Spent the greatest part of the day in making a new plough of my own invention.

“April 4th.—Apprehending the herrings were come,

hauled the seine, but caught only a few of them, though a good many of other sorts of fish.

“*8th.*—Seven o'clock, a messenger came to inform me that my mill was in great danger of being destroyed. I immediately hurried off all hands with shovels, &c. to its assistance, and got there myself just time enough to give it a reprieve for this time, by wheeling gravel into the place which the water had washed. While I was there, a very heavy thunder-shower came on, which lasted upwards of an hour. I tried what time the mill required to grind a bushel of corn, and to my surprise found it was within five minutes of an hour. Old Anthony attributed this to the low head of water, but whether it was so or not I cannot say. The works are all decayed and out of order, which I rather take to be the cause. This bushel of corn, when ground, measured near a peck more of meal.

“*May 4th.*—Warm and fine ; set out for Frederic to see my negroes that lay ill of the smallpox. Took Church in my way to Coleman's, where I arrived about sun-setting.

“*5th.*—Reached Mr. Stephenson's, in Frederic, about four o'clock, just time enough to see Richard Mounts interred. Here I was informed that Harry and Kit, the two first of my negroes that took the smallpox, were dead ; and Roger and Philips, the only two down with it, were recovering. Lodged at Mr. Stephenson's.

“*7th.*—After taking the doctor's directions in regard to my people, I set out for my quarters, and got there about twelve o'clock, time enough to go over them and find everything in the utmost confusion, disorder, and backwardness, my overseer lying upon his back

with a broken leg, and not half a crop, especially of corn-ground, prepared. Engaged Valentine Crawford to go in pursuit of a nurse, to be ready in case more of my people should be seized with the same disorder.

“8th.—Got blankets and every other requisite from Winchester, and settled things upon the best footing I could to prevent the smallpox from spreading, and, in case of its spreading, for the care of the negroes, Mr. Crawford agreeing, in case any more of the people at the lower quarter should take it, to remove them home to his house, and if any of those at the upper quarter should get it, to have them removed into my room, and the nurse sent for.

“17th.—Began weeding my trefoil below the hill. Got an account that the Assembly was to meet on Monday; resolved to set out to-morrow.

“18th.—Set out in company with Mr. George Johnston; at Colchester was informed by Colonels Thornton and Chissel that the Assembly would be broken up before I could get down; turned back, therefore, and found at my house Colonel Fairfax and his family. The lightning, which had been attended with a good deal of rain, had struck my quarter, and about ten negroes in it; some very badly injured, but with letting blood they recovered.”

WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO
RIVER. (1770.)*

[THE claims of officers and soldiers to lands granted by Governor Dinwiddie as a reward for their services at the beginning of the French war, met with con-

siderable obstacles for a long time, first from the ministry in England, and next from the authorities in Virginia. By Colonel Washington's unwearied exertions, however, and by these alone, and mostly at his own expense, the matter was at last adjusted. Nor did he remit his efforts till every officer and private soldier had received his due proportion. Having resolved personally to visit the lands in question, and select for the surveys such tracts as would have an intrinsic value, both in regard to their location and quality, accompanied by his friend Dr. Craik, who had been his companion in arms at the battles of the Great Meadows and of the Monongahela, he performed a tour of nine weeks for this purpose.]

"*October 5th.*—Began a journey to the Ohio in company with Dr. Craik, his servant, and two of mine, with a led horse and baggage. Dined at Towlston, and lodged at Leesburg, distant from Mount Vernon about forty-five miles. Here my portmanteau horse failed.

"*6th.*—Fed our horses on the top of the Ridge, and arrived at my brother Samuel's, on Worthington's Marsh, a little after they had dined, the distance being about thirty miles; from hence I dispatched a messenger to Colonel Stephen, apprising him of my arrival and intended journey.

"*7th.*—My portmanteau horse being unable to proceed, I left him at my brother's and got one of his, and proceeded to Samuel Pritchard's on Cacapehon. Pritchard's is a pretty good house, there being fine pasturage, good fences, and beds tolerably clean.

"*8th.*—My servant being unable to travel, I left him at Pritchard's with Dr. Craik, and proceeded myself with Valentine Crawford to Colonel Cresap's, in order

to learn from him (being just arrived from England) the particulars of the grant said to be lately sold to Walpole and others, for a certain tract of country on the Ohio. The distance from Pritchard's to Cresap's, according to computation, is twenty-six miles.

“ 9th.—Went up to Rumney in order to buy work-horses, and met Dr. Craik and my baggage ; arrived there about twelve o'clock.

“ 10th.—Having purchased two horses, and recovered another which had been gone from me near three years, I dispatched my boy Silas, with my two riding-horses, home, and proceeded on my journey, arriving at one Wise's (now Turner's) mill, about twenty-two miles, it being reckoned seven to the place where Cox's Fort formerly stood ; ten to one Parker's ; and five afterwards.

“ 11th.—The morning being wet and heavy we did not set off till eleven o'clock, and arrived that night at one Killam's, on a branch of George's Creek, distant ten and a half measured miles from the north branch of the Potomac, where we crossed at the lower end of my deceased brother Augustine's land, known by the name of Pendergrass's. This crossing is two miles from the aforesaid mill, and the road bad, as it likewise is to Killam's, the country being very hilly and stony. From Killam's to Fort Cumberland is the same distance that it is to the crossing above mentioned, and the road from thence to Jolliff's by the Old Town much better.

“ 12th.—We left Killam's early in the morning ; breakfasted at the Little Meadows, ten miles off, and lodged at the Great Crossing twenty miles further ; which we found a tolerably good day's work. The country we travelled over to-day was very mountainous

and stony, with but very little good land, and that lying in spots.

“13th.—Set out about sunrise; breakfasted at the Great Meadows thirteen miles, and reached Captain Crawford's about five o'clock. The land from Gist's to Crawford's is very broken, though not mountainous; in spots exceedingly rich, and in general free from stones. Crawford's is very fine land; lying on the Youghiogany at a place commonly called Stewart's Crossing.

“14th.—At Captain Crawford's all day. Went to see a coal-mine not far from his house on the banks of the river. The coal seemed to be of the very best kind, burning freely, and abundance of it.

“15th.—Went to view some land which Captain Crawford had taken up for me near the Youghiogany, distant about twelve miles. This tract, which contains about one thousand six hundred acres, includes some as fine land as ever I saw, and a great deal of rich meadow. It is well watered, and has a valuable mill-seat, except that the stream is rather too slight, and it is said, not constant more than seven or eight months in the year; but on account of the fall, and other conveniences, no place can exceed it. In going to this land I passed through two other tracts, which Captain Crawford had taken up for my brothers Samuel and John. I intended to have visited the land which Crawford had procured for Lund Washington, this day also, but time falling short I was obliged to postpone it. Night came on before I got back to Crawford's, where I found Colonel Stephen. The lands which I passed over to-day were generally hilly, and the growth chiefly white oak, but very good notwithstanding; and what is extraordinary,

and contrary to the property of all other lands I ever saw before, the hills are the richest land, the soil upon the sides and summits of them being as black as a coal, and the growth walnut and cherry. The flats are not so rich, and a good deal more mixed with stone.

“16th.—At Captain Crawford’s till the evening, when I went to Mr. John Stephenson’s, on my way to Pittsburg, and lodged. This day I was visited by one Mr. Ennis, who had travelled down the Little Kenhawa, almost from the head to the mouth, on which, he says, the lands are broken, the bottoms neither very wide nor rich, but covered with beach. At the mouth the lands are good, and continue so up the river. About Wheeling and Fisher’s Creek there is, according to his account, a body of fine land. I also saw a son of Captain John Harden’s, who said he had been from the mouth of Little Kenhawa to the Big ; but his description of the lands seemed to be so vague and indeterminate that it was much doubted whether he ever was there or not.

“17th.—Dr. Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, chiefly white-oak, especially from Sewickly Creek to Turtle Creek, but the whole broken, resembling, as I think all the lands in this country do, the Loudoun lands. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Mr. Semple’s, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegany and Mononga-

hela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which near the land are of brick ; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmondson.

“18th.—Dined in the fort with Colonel Croghan and the officers of the garrison ; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colonel Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Allegany.

“19th.—Received a message from Colonel Croghan that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I would be at his house about eleven, where they were to meet. I went up and received a speech with a string of wampum from the White Mingo, to the following effect :—

“ ‘That as I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and to desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, linked together in one chain ; that I would inform the governor that it was their wish to live in peace and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been some unhappy differences between them and the people upon our frontiers, they were all made up and, they hoped, forgotten, and concluded with saying, that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish.’

“ To this I answered, after thanking them for their friendly welcome, ‘ that all the injuries and affronts that had passed on either side were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia than to live in the strictest friendship with them ; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, which was the reason of their not being so frequently among them ; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connexions with them, and that I would acquaint the government with their desires.’

“ After dining at Colonel Croghan’s we returned to Pittsburg, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson, an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage ; also a young Indian warrior.

“ 20th.—We embarked in a large canoe, with sufficient store of provision and necessaries, and the following persons, besides Dr. Craik and myself,—to wit, Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford’s, and the Indians, who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford’s, with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Magee, set out with us. At two we dined at Mr. Magee’s, and encamped ten miles below, and four above Logstown. We passed several large islands, which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the river alternately, the hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms

on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so *vice versa*.

“ 21st.—Left our encampment about six o'clock, and breakfasted at Logstown, where we parted with Colonel Croghan and company about nine o'clock. At eleven we came to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek, opposite to which is a good situation for a house, and above it, on the same side,—that is, the west, there appears to be a body of fine land. About five miles lower down, on the east side, comes in Raccoon Creek, at the mouth of which, and up, it appears to be a body of good land also. All the land between this creek and the Monongahela, and for fifteen miles back, is claimed by Colonel Croghan under a purchase from the Indians, which sale he says is confirmed by his Majesty. On this creek, where the branches thereof interlock with the waters of Shurtees Creek, there is, according to Colonel Croghan's account, a body of fine, rich, level land. This tract he wants to sell, and offers it at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, with an exemption of quitrents for twenty years ; after which, to be subject to the payment of four shillings and two-pence sterling per hundred acres, provided he can sell it in ten-thousand-acre lots. At present, the unsettled state of this country renders any purchase dangerous. From Raccoon Creek to Little Beaver Creek appears to me to be little short of ten miles, and about three miles below this we encamped, after hiding a barrel of biscuit in an island to lighten our canoe.

“ 22nd.—As it began to snow about midnight, and continued pretty steadily, it was about half after seven before we left our encampment. At the distance of about eight miles we came to the mouth of

Yellow Creek, opposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land about two or three miles above this. About eleven or twelve miles from this, and just above what is called the Long Island (which, though so distinguished, is not very remarkable for length, breadth, or goodness), comes in, on the east side of the river, a small creek, or run, the name of which I could not learn ; and a mile or two below the island, on the west side, comes in Big Stony Creek (not larger in appearance than the other), on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or bodies of good land. About seven miles from the last-mentioned creek, twenty-eight from our last encampment, and about seventy-five from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town, situate on the west side of the river, a little above the Cross Creeks. This place contains about twenty cabins, and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations. Had we set off early, and kept constantly at it, we might have reached lower than this place to-day, as the water in many places ran pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday. The river from Fort Pitt to Logstown has some ugly rifts and shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the channel or not I cannot undertake to say. From Logstown to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek is much the same kind of water,—that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently along in others, and quite still in many. The water from Little Beaver Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows, there being some one part or another always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the river in all the distance

from Fort Pitt to this town has not widened at all, nor do the bottoms appear to be any larger. The hills, which come close to the river opposite to each bottom, are steep, and on the side in view, in many places rocky and cragged, but said to abound in good land on the tops. These are not a range of hills, but broken and cut in two, as if there were frequent watercourses running through, which, however, we did not perceive to be the case. The river abounds in wild geese, and several kinds of ducks, but in no great quantity. We killed five wild turkeys to-day. Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town we received the disagreeable news of two traders being killed at a town called the Grape-Vine Town, thirty-eight miles below this, which caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed or wait for further intelligence.

“ 23rd.—Several imperfect accounts coming in, agreeing that only one person was killed, and the Indians not supposing it to be done by their people, we resolved to pursue our passage till we could get a more distinct account of this transaction. Accordingly, about two o'clock we set out with the two Indians who were to accompany us in our canoe, and after about four miles, came to the mouth of a creek on the east side. The Cross Creeks, as they are called, are not large, that on the west side is biggest. At the Mingo Town we found and left more than sixty warriors of the Six Nations going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbias. About ten miles below the town we came to two other cross creeks ; that on the west side is the larger, and called by Nicholson, French Creek. About three miles, or a little more below this, at the lower point of some islands which stand contiguous to each other, we were told by the Indians that three men from Vir-

ginia had marked the land from hence all the way to Red-stone, that there was a body of exceedingly fine land lying about this place, and up opposite to the Mingo Town, as also down to the mouth of Fishing Creek. At this place we encamped.

“ 24th.—We left our encampment before sunrise, and about six miles below it we came to the mouth of a small creek, coming in from the eastward, called by the Indians, Split-Island Creek, from its running in against an island. On this creek there is the appearance of good land. Six miles below this again we came to another creek on the west side, called by Nicholson, Wheeling ; and about a mile lower down appears to be another small water coming in on the east side, which I remark, because of the scarcity of them, and to shew how badly furnished this country is with mill-seats. Two or three miles below this is another run on the west side, up which is a near way by land to the Mingo Town ; and about four miles lower comes in another on the east, at which place is a path leading to the settlement at Red-stone. About a mile and a half below this comes in the Pipe Creek, so called by the Indians, from a stone which is found here, out of which they make pipes. Opposite to this, that is, on the east side, is a bottom of exceedingly rich land ; but as it seems to lie low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowed. This bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appear, by the destruction and havoc among the trees. Two or three miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large creek on the west side, called by Nicholson, Fox-Grape-Vine, by others, Captema Creek, on which, eight miles up, is the town called the Grape-Vine Town, and at the mouth of it is the place where it was said the trader was killed. To this place we came about

three o'clock in the afternoon, and finding nobody there, we agreed to encamp, that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the town, and inquire into the truth of the report concerning the murder.

“ 25th.—About seven o'clock, Nicholson and the Indian returned ; they found nobody at the town but two old Indian women (the men being a hunting) ; from these they learned that the trader was not murdered, but drowned in attempting to cross the Ohio ; and that only one boy belonging to the traders was in these parts, the trader, his father, being gone for horses to take home their skins. About half an hour after seven we set out from our encampment, around which, and up the creek, is a body of fine land. In our passage down to this place we saw innumerable quantities of turkeys, and many deer watering and browsing on the shore-side, some of which we killed. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any rifts, or very rapid water, the river gliding gently along ; nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the country, except that the bottoms seemed to be getting a little longer and wider as the bends of the river grew larger.

“ About five miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large creek to the eastward, called by the Indians, Cut Creek, from a town or tribe of Indians, which they say was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations. This creek empties just at the lower end of an island, and is seventy or eighty yards wide ; and I fancy it is the creek commonly called Wheeling by the people of Red-stone. It extends, according to the Indians' account, a great way, and interlocks with the branches of Split-Island Creek, abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good land. Just below this, on the

west side, comes in a small run ; and about five miles below it, on the west side also, another creek empties, called by the Indians, Broken-Timber Creek ; so named from the timber that is destroyed on it by a hurricane ; on the head of this was a town of the Delawares, which is now deserted. Two miles lower down, on the same side, is another creek, smaller than the last, and bearing, according to the Indians, the same name. Opposite to these two creeks, on the east side, appears to be a large bottom of good land. About two miles below the last-mentioned creek, on the east side, and at the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a small creek. Seven miles from this is Muddy Creek, on the east side of the river, a pretty large creek, which heads with some of the waters of Monongahela, according to the Indians' account, and is bordered by some bottoms of very good land ; but in general the hills are steep, and the country broken. At the mouth of this creek is the largest flat I have seen upon the river, the bottom extending two or three miles up the river above it, and a mile below, though it does not seem to be of the richest kind. About half way in the Long Reach we encamped, opposite to the beginning of a large bottom on the east side of the river. At this place we threw out some lines at night, and found a catfish, of the size of our largest river catfish, hooked to one of them in the morning, though it was of the smallest kind here. We found no rifts in this day's passage, but pretty swift water in some places, and still in others. We found the bottoms increased in size, both as to length and breadth, and the river more choked up with fallen trees, and the bottom of the river next the shores rather more muddy, but in general stony, as it has been all the way down.

“ 26th.—Left our encampment at half an hour after six o'clock, and passed a small run on the west side, about four miles lower. At the lower end of the Long Reach, and for some distance up it on the east side, is a large bottom, but low, and covered with beech near the river shore, which is no indication of good land. The Long Reach is a straight course of the river for about eighteen or twenty miles, which appears the more extraordinary, as the Ohio in general is remarkably crooked. There are several islands in this reach, some containing an hundred or more acres of land, but all, I apprehend, liable to be overflowed.

“ At the end of this reach we found Martin and Lindsay, two traders, and from them learned that the person drowned was one Philips, attempting, in company with Rogers, another Indian trader, to swim the river with their horses at an improper place, Rogers himself narrowly escaping. Five miles lower down comes in a large creek from the east, right against an island of good land, at least a mile or two in length. At the mouth of this creek (the name of which I could not learn, except that it was called by some Ball's Creek, from one Ball, that hunted on it) is a bottom of good land, though rather too much mixed with beech. Opposite to this island the Indians shewed us a buffalo's path, the tracks of which we saw. Five or six miles below the last-mentioned creek we came to the Three Islands. Below these islands is a large body of flat land, with a watercourse running through it on the east side, and the hills back neither so high nor steep in appearance as they are up the river. On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, though much longer and wider. The bottom last mentioned is upon a straight reach of the river, I suppose six or eight miles in length. About twelve

miles below the Three Islands we encamped, just above the mouth of the creek, which appears pretty large at the mouth, and just above an island. All the lands from a little below the creek, which I have distinguished by the name of Ball's Creek, appear to be level, with some small hillocks intermixed, as far as we could see into the country. We met with no rifts to-day, but some pretty strong water, upon the whole tolerably gentle. The sides of the river were a good deal incommoded with old trees, which impeded our passage a little. This day proved clear and pleasant; the only day since the 18th that it has not rained or snowed, or threatened the one or other.

“27th.—Left our encampment a quarter before seven; and after passing the creek near which we lay, and another of much the same size and on the same side, also an island about two miles in length, but not wide, we came to the mouth of Muskingum, distant from our encampment about four miles. This river is about one hundred and fifty yards wide at the mouth; it runs out in a gentle current and clear stream, and is navigable a great way into the country for canoes. From Muskingum to the Little Kenhawa is about thirteen miles. This is about as wide at the mouth as the Muskingum, but the water much deeper. It runs up towards the inhabitants of Monongahela, and, according to the Indians' account, forks about forty or fifty miles from the mouth, and the ridge between the two prongs leads directly to the settlement. To this fork, and above, the water is navigable for canoes. On the upper side of this river there appears to be a bottom of exceedingly rich land, and the country from hence quite up to the Three Islands level, and in appearance fine. The Ohio running round it in the form of a horse-shoe forms a neck of flat land, which,

added to that running up the second Long Reach aforementioned, cannot contain less than fifty thousand acres in view.

“About six or seven miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indians called Little Hockhocking; but before we did this, we passed another small creek on the same side, near the mouth of that river, and a cluster of islands afterwards. The lands for two or three miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, on both sides of the Ohio, appear broken and indifferent; but opposite to the Little Hockhocking there is a bottom of good land, through which there runs a small watercourse. I suppose there may be, of this bottom and flat land together, two or three thousand acres. The lower end of this bottom is opposite to a small island, of which I dare say little is to be seen when the river is high. About eight miles below Little Hockhocking we encamped, opposite to the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, which, though so called, is not a large water; though the Indians say canoes can go up it forty or fifty miles. Since we left the Little Kenhawa the lands appear neither so level nor so good. The bends of the river and bottoms are longer, but not so rich as in the upper part of the river.

“28th.—Left our encampment about seven o'clock. Two miles below a small run comes in on the east side, through a piece of land that has a very good appearance, the bottom beginning above our encampment, and continuing in appearance wide for four miles down, where we found Kiashuta and his hunting party encamped. Here we were under a necessity of paying our compliments, as this person was one of the Six Nation chiefs, and the head of those upon this

river. In the person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and treated us with great kindness, giving us a quarter of a very fine buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that night with him, and in order to retard us as little as possible, moved his camp down the river, just below the mouth of a creek, the name of which I could not learn. At this place we all encamped. After much counselling over night, they all came to my fire the next morning with great formality, when Kiashuta, rehearsing what had passed between me and the sachems at Colonel Croghan's, thanked me for saying that peace and friendship with them were the wish of the people of Virginia, and for recommending it to the traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a trade opened with Virginia, and that the governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but with their friendly disposition towards the white people. This I promised to do.

“ 29th.—The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their counsellings and speeches detained us till nine o'clock. Opposite to the creek, just below which we encamped, is a pretty long bottom, and I believe tolerably wide; but about eight or nine miles below the aforementioned creek, and just below a pavement of rocks on the west side, comes in a creek with fallen timber at the mouth, on which the Indians say there are wide bottoms and good land. The river bottoms above for some distance are very good, and continue so for near half a mile below the creek. The pavement of rocks is only to be seen at low water. About a mile below the mouth of the creek there is

another pavement of rocks on the east side, in a kind of sedgy ground. On this creek are many buffaloes, according to the Indians' account. Six miles below this comes in a small creek on the west side, at the end of a small naked island, and just above another pavement of rocks. This creek comes through a bottom of fine land, and opposite to it, on the east side of the river, appears to be a large bottom of very fine land also. At this place begins what they call the Great Bend. Two miles below, on the east side, comes in another creek, just below an island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white-bodied sycamores; in the mouth of this creek lies a sycamore blown down by the wind. From hence an east line may be run three or four miles; thence a north line, till it strikes the river, which I apprehend would include about three or four thousand acres of valuable land. At the mouth of this creek is the warriors' path to the Cherokee country. For two miles and a half below this the Ohio runs a north-east course, and finishes what they call the Great Bend. Two miles and a half below this we encamped.

“ 30th.—We set out about fifty minutes past seven, the weather being windy and cloudy, after a night of rain. After about two miles we came to the head of a bottom in the shape of a horse-shoe, which I judge to be about six miles round; the beginning of the bottom appeared to be very good land, but the lower part did not seem so friendly. The upper part of the bottom we encamped on was exceeding good, but the lower part, rather thin land covered with beech. In it is some clear meadow land, and a pond or lake. This bottom begins just below the rapid, at the point of the Great Bend. The river from this place nar-

rows very considerably, and for five or six miles is scarcely more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards over. The water yesterday, except the rapid at the Great Bend, and some swift places about the islands, was quite dead, and as easily passed one way as the other; the land in general appeared level and good.

“About ten miles below our encampment, and a little lower down than the bottom, described to lie in the shape of a horse-shoe, comes in a small creek on the west side, and opposite to this, on the east, begins a body of flat land, which the Indians tell us runs quite across the fork to the falls in the Kenhawa, and must at least be three days’ walk across; if so, the flat land contained therein must be very considerable. A mile or two below this we landed, and after getting a little distance from the river, we came, without any rising, to a pretty lively kind of land, grown up with hickory and oaks of different kinds, intermixed with walnut. We also found many shallow ponds, the sides of which, abounding with grass, invited innumerable quantities of wild fowl, among which I saw a couple of birds, in size between a swan and a goose, and in colour somewhat between the two, being darker than the young swan, and of a more sooty colour. The cry of these birds was as unusual as the birds themselves; I never heard any noise resembling it before. About five miles below this, we encamped in a bottom of good land, which holds tolerably flat and rich for some distance out.

“31st.—I sent the canoe down about five miles to the junction of the two rivers,—that is, the Kenhawa with the Ohio, and set out upon a hunting party to view the land. We steered nearly east for about eight or nine miles, then bore southwardly and westwardly,

till we came to our camp at the confluence of the rivers. The land from the rivers appeared but indifferent, and very broken ; whether these ridges may not be those that divide the waters of the Ohio from the Kenhawa is not certain, but I believe they are ; if so, the lands may yet be good ; if not, that which lies beyond the river bottoms is worth little.

“ *November 1st.*—Before eight o’clock, we set off with our canoe up the river, to discover what kind of lands lay upon the Kenhawa. The land on both sides this river just at the mouth is very fine ; but on the east side, when you get towards the hills, which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river, it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles ; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek. We judged we went up the Kenhawa about ten miles to-day. On the east side appear to be some good bottoms, but small, neither long nor wide, and the hills back of them rather steep and poor.

2nd.—We proceeded up the river with the canoe about four miles farther, and then encamped, and went a hunting ; killed five buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, &c. This country abounds in buffaloes and wild game of all kinds ; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the bottoms a great many small, grassy ponds, or lakes, which are full of swans, geese, and ducks of different kinds. Some of our people went up the river four or five miles higher, and found the same kind of bottom on the west side ; and we were told by the Indians that it continued to the falls, which they judged to be fifty or sixty miles

higher up. This bottom next the water in most places is very rich ; as you approach to the hills you come to a thin white-oak land, and poor. The hills, as far as we could judge, were from half a mile to a mile from the river, poor and steep in the parts we saw, with pine growing on them. Whether they are generally so or not we cannot tell, but I fear they are.

“*3rd.*—We set off down the river, on our return homewards, and encamped at the mouth. At the beginning of the bottom above the junction of the rivers, and at the mouth of a branch on the east side, I marked two maples, an elm, and hoop-wood tree, as a corner of the soldiers’ land (if we can get it), intending to take all the bottom from hence to the rapids in the Great Bend into one survey. I also marked at the mouth of another run lower down on the west side, at the lower end of the long bottom, an ash and hoop-wood for the beginning of another of the soldiers’ surveys, to extend up so as to include all the bottom in a body on the west side. In coming from our last encampment up the Kenhawa, I endeavoured to take the courses and distances of the river by a pocket compass, and by guessing.

“*4th.*—After passing these hills, which may run on the river near a mile, there appears to be another pretty good bottom on the east side. At this place we met a canoe going to the Illinois with sheep ; and at this place also,—that is, at the end of the bottom from the Kenhawa, just as we came to the hills, we met with a sycamore about sixty yards from the river, of a most extraordinary size, it measuring three feet from the ground, forty-five feet round, lacking two inches ; and not fifty yards from it was another, thirty-one feet round. After passing this bottom, and about a mile of hills, we entered another bottom and

encamped. This bottom reaches within about half a mile of the rapid at the point of the Great Bend.

“ 5th.—I sent off the canoe with our baggage, and walked across the neck on foot, with Captain Crawford, the distance, according to our walking, about eight miles, as we kept a straight course under the foot of the hills, which run about south-east, and were two hours and a half in walking it. This is a good neck of land, the soil being generally good, and in places very rich. There is a large proportion of meadow ground, and the land as high, dry, and level, as one could wish; the growth in most places beech intermixed with walnut, but more especially with poplar, of which there are numbers very large. The land towards the upper end is black-oak, and very good. Upon the whole, a valuable tract might be had here, and I judge the quantity to be about four thousand acres. After passing this bottom and the rapid, as also some hills, which jut pretty close to the river, we came to that bottom before remarked the 29th ultimo. A little above this bottom we encamped, the afternoon being rainy, and night wet.

“ 6th.—We left our encampment a little after daylight, and after about five miles we came to Kiashuta's hunting camp, which was now removed to the mouth of that creek noted October 29th for having fallen timber at the mouth of it, in a bottom of good land. By the kindness and idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detained at Kiashuta's camp all the remaining part of this day; and having a good deal of conversation with him on the subject of land, he informed me that it was further from the mouth of the Great Kenhawa to the fall of that river than it was between the two Kenhawas; that the bottom on the west side, which begins near the mouth of the Kenhawa, con-

tinues all the way to the falls without the interposition of hills, and widens as it goes, especially from a pretty large creek that comes in about ten or fifteen miles higher up than where we were ; that in the fork there is a body of good land, and at a considerable distance above this the river forks again at an island, and there begins the reed, or cane, to grow ; that the bottoms on the east side of the river are also very good but broken with hills, and that the river is easily passed with canoes to the falls, which cannot be less than one hundred miles, but further it is not possible to go with them ; that there is but one ridge from thence to the settlements upon the river above, on which it is possible for a man to travel, the country between being so much broken with steep hills and precipices.*

“ 17th.—By this morning the river had fallen in the whole twenty-two or twenty-three feet and was still lowering. About eight o’clock we set out, and passing the lower Cross Creeks we came to a pretty long and tolerably wide and good bottom on the east side of the river ; then came in the hills, just above which is Buffalo Creek. About three o’clock we came to the Mingo Town without seeing our horses, the Indian who was sent express for them having passed through only the morning before, being detained by the creeks, which were too high to ford.

“ Here we resolved to wait their arrival, which was expected to-morrow ; and here then will end our water voyage along a river, the general course of which from Beaver Creek to the Kenhawa is about south-west, as near as I could determine ; but in its windings through a narrow vale extremely serpentine, forming on both

* For the succeeding ten days the manuscript journal has been so much injured by accident, that it is impossible to transcribe it. The route, however, continued up the Ohio River, which was very much swollen by the rains.

sides of the river alternately necks of very good bottoms, some exceedingly fine, lying for the most part in the shape of a half-moon, and of various sizes. There is very little difference in the general width of the river from Fort Pitt to the Kenhawa ; but in the depth I believe the odds are considerably in favour of the lower parts, as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the river was broad, and there I do not know but there might have been a deep channel in some parts of it. Every here and there are islands, some larger and some smaller, which, operating in the nature of locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water alongside of them. However, none of these is so swift but that a vessel may be rowed or set up with poles. When the river is in its natural state, large canoes, that will carry five or six thousand weight or more, may be worked against the stream, by four hands, twenty or twenty-five miles a day ; and down, a good deal more. The Indians, who are very dexterous (even their women) in the management of canoes, have their hunting-camps and cabins all along the river for the convenience of transporting their skins by water to market. In the fall, so soon as the hunting season comes on, they set out with their families for this purpose ; and in hunting will move their camps from place to place, till by the spring they get two or three hundred or more miles from their towns ; then catch beaver in their way up, which frequently brings them into the month of May, when the women are employed in planting. The men are at market, and in idleness, till the autumn again, when they pursue the same course. During the summer months they live a poor and perishing life.

“ The Indians who reside upon the Ohio, the upper parts of it, at least, are composed of Shawanees, Delawares, and some of the Mingoes, who, getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the lands eastward of the Ohio, view the settlements of the people upon this river with an uneasy and jealous eye, and do not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations. On the other hand, the people of Virginia and elsewhere are exploring and marking all the lands that are valuable, not only on the Red-stone and other waters of the Monongahela, but along the Ohio as low as the Little Kenhawa ; and by next summer I suppose they will get to the Great Kenhawa at least. How difficult it may be to contend with these people afterwards is easy to be judged, from every day’s experience of lands actually settled, supposing these settlements to be made, than which nothing is more probable, if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the people at present. A few settlements in the midst of some of the large bottoms would render it impracticable to get any large quantity of land together ; as the hills all the way down the river, as low as I went, come pretty close, are steep and broken, and incapable of settlements (though some of them are rich), and only fit to support the bottoms with timber and wood. The land back of the bottoms, as far as I have been able to judge, either from my own observations or from information, is nearly the same,—that is, exceedingly uneven and hilly ; and I presume there are no bodies of flat, rich land to be found, till one gets far enough from the river to head the little runs and drains that come through the hills, and to the sources of the creeks and their branches. This, it seems, is the case with

the lands upon the Monongahela and Youghiogany, and I fancy holds good upon this river till you get into the flat lands below the falls. The bottom land differs a good deal in quality. That highest up the river in general is richest, though the bottoms are neither so wide nor so long as those below. Walnut, cherry, and some other kinds of wood, neither tall nor large, but covered with grape-vines, with the fruit of which this country at this instant abounds, are the growth of the richest bottoms ; but on the other hand these bottoms appear to me to be the lowest and most subject to floods. The sugar-tree and ash, mixed with walnut, compose the growth of the next richest low grounds ; beech, poplar, and oaks, the last. The soil of this is also good, but inferior to either of the other kinds ; and beech bottoms are objectionable on account of the difficulty of clearing them, as their roots spread over a large surface of ground and are hard to kill.

“18th.—Agreed with two Delaware Indians to take up our canoe to Fort Pitt, for the doing of which I was to pay six dollars and give them a quart tin can.

“19th.—The Delawares set off with the canoe, and our horses not arriving, the day appeared exceedingly long and tedious. Upon conversing with Nicholson, I found he had been two or three times to Fort Chartres, on the Illinois, and I got from him an account of the lands between this place and that, and upon the Shawnee River, on which he had been a hunting.

“20th.—About one o'clock our horses arrived, having been prevented from getting to Fort Pitt by the freshes. At two we set out and got about ten miles, the Indians travelling along with us.

“21st.—Reached Fort Pitt in the afternoon, distant from our last encampment about twenty-five miles, and, as near as I can guess, thirty-five from the Mingo

Town. The land between the Mingo Town and Pittsburg is of different kinds. For four or five miles after leaving the first-mentioned place we passed over steep, hilly ground, covered with white-oak, and a thin shallow soil. This was succeeded by a lively white-oak land, less broken; and this again by rich land, the growth of which was chiefly white and red oak mixed, which lasted, with some intervals of indifferent ridges, all the way to Pittsburg. It was very observable, that, as we left the river, the land grew better, which is a confirmation of the accounts I had before received, that the good bodies of land lie upon the heads of the runs and creeks; but in all my travels through this country, I have seen no large body of level land. On the branches of Raccoon Creek there appears to be good meadow ground, and on Shurtees Creek, over both of which we passed, the land looks well. The country between the Mingo Town and Fort Pitt appears to be well supplied with springs.

“22nd.—Stayed at Pittsburg all day. Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple’s, among whom was one Dr. Connolly, nephew to Colonel Croghan, a very sensible, intelligent man, who had travelled over a good deal of this western country both by land and water, and who confirms Nicholson’s account of the good land on the Shawnee River, up which he had been near four hundred miles. This country (I mean on the Shawnee River), according to Dr. Connolly’s description, must be exceedingly desirable on many accounts. The climate is fine; the soil remarkably good; the lands well watered with good streams, and level enough for any kind of cultivation. Besides these advantages from nature, it has others not less important to a new settlement, particularly game, which is so plentiful as to

render the transportation of provisions thither, bread only excepted, altogether unnecessary. Dr. Connolly is so much delighted with the lands and climate on that river, that he wishes for nothing more than to induce one hundred families to go there and live, that he might be among them. A new and most desirable government might be established there, to be bounded, according to his account, by the Ohio northward and westward, by the ridge that divides the waters of the Tennessee or Cherokee River southward and westward, and a line to be run from the falls of the Ohio, or above, so as to cross the Shawnee River above the fork of it. Dr. Connolly gives much the same account of the land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois country and Post St. Vincent that Nicholson does, except in the article of water, which the Doctor says is bad, and in the summer scarce, there being little else than stagnant water to be met with.

“23rd.—After settling with the Indians and people that attended me down the river, and defraying the sundry expenses accruing at Pittsburg, I set off on my return home; and, after dining at the widow Miers’s, on Turtle Creek, reached Mr. John Stephenson’s in the night.

“24th.—When we came to Stewart’s Crossing at Crawford’s, the river was too high to ford, and his canoe gone adrift. However, after waiting there two or three hours, a canoe was got, in which we passed, and swam our horses. The remainder of this day I spent at Captain Crawford’s, it either raining or snowing hard all day.

“25th.—I set out early in order to see Lund Washington’s land; but the ground and trees being covered with snow, I was able to form but an indistinct opinion of it, though, upon the whole, it ap-

peared to be a good tract of land. From this I went to Mr. Thomas Gist's and dined, and then proceeded on to the Great Crossing at Hogland's, where I arrived about eight o'clock.

"26th.—Reached Killam's, on George's Creek, where we met several families going over the mountains to live; some without having any places provided. The snow upon the Allegany mountains was near knee deep.

"27th.—We got to Colonel Cresap's at the Old Town, after calling at Fort Cumberland and breakfasting with one Mr. Innis at the new store opposite.

"28th.—The Old Town Creek was so high as to wet us in crossing it, and when we came to Cox's, the river was impassable; we were obliged, therefore, to cross in a canoe, and swim our horses. At Henry Enoch's, at the forks of Cacapehon, we dined, and lodged at Rinker's.

"29th.—Set out early, and reached my brother's by one o'clock. Dr. Craik, having business at Winchester, went that way, and was to meet me at Snickers's the next morning by ten o'clock.

"30th.—According to appointment the Doctor and I met, and after breakfasting at Snickers's we proceeded to West's, where we arrived at or about sunset.

"December 1st.—Reached home, having been absent nine weeks and one day."

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S DIARY. (1774.)*

[COLONEL WASHINGTON was at this time in Williamsburg, where he had been attending the regular sitting of the House of Burgesses. A few days after the

* Vol. i. p. 124.

members had assembled, news came of the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, which was to take effect on the 1st of June. Much excitement was produced by this intelligence; and when the Burgesses met on the 24th of May, they passed an order, that the 1st day of June "should be set apart by that House as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights and the evils of civil war, and to give them one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." Governor Dunmore was displeased at this order, and dissolved the House the next morning.

The members, however, were not driven from their purpose. They assembled, to the number of eighty-nine, at the Raleigh Tavern, on the 25th of May, organized themselves, and drew up an association, which they all signed, enumerating some of the grievances under which the colonies laboured, assuming the cause of Boston as common to all, and recommending to the committee of correspondence in Virginia to correspond with the committees of other colonies, on the expediency of appointing deputies to meet annually in a general Congress, at such place as should be thought most convenient.*

Nor did the delegates disperse till they had performed other acts of duty to their country, and even of complaisance to the governor and his lady. They had made arrangements for honouring Lady Dunmore with a ball on the 27th of May, which were carried into execution with the same marks of attention and respect as if nothing had occurred. The Burgesses also took care to observe with strictness their order

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, 3rd edit. p. 95.

for a fast. The following brief notes are from Washington's Diary.]

"*May 16th.*—Came to Williamsburg. Dined at the Governor's, and spent the evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

"*25th.*—Dined and spent the evening at the Governor's.

"*26th.*—Rode out with the Governor to his farm, and breakfasted with him there.

"*27th.*—Dined at the Treasurer's, and went to the ball given by the House of Burgesses to Lady Dunmore.

"*June 1st, Wednesday.*—Went to church, and fasted all day.

"*10th.*—Dined at the Raleigh, and went to the fireworks.

"*16th.*—Dined at the Governor's, and spent the evening at Anderson's.

"*20th.*—Set off on my return home."

WASHINGTON'S DIARY AT THE FIRST CONGRESS (1774).*

[ALTHOUGH Washington could hardly be considered a man of reading, or one who gathered knowledge from a deep study of books, yet few were better informed on all the practical topics of life, or had a more perfect understanding of the political principles on which the English government was founded, and of the true merits of the controversy between Great Britain and the colonies. No gentleman associated more constantly and intimately with men of the first talents and attainments, or was more eager or better qualified

* Vol. i. p. 130.

to profit by such an intercourse. At Mount Vernon he lived in the exercise of an open and generous hospitality, which drew to his house the best part of the society of Virginia and Maryland, as well as strangers from other colonies. He also spent a portion of every year at Williamsburg, as a member of the House of Burgesses, where he frequented the circles of wealth and fashion, at the same time that he was brought into contact with men of powerful minds in the transaction of public affairs. His manner of life was a school, in which every day increased his insight into human character, and sharpened his faculties of observation and judgment, always acute and always active.

The following meagre hints from his Diary, during the whole time of his attendance at the first Congress in Philadelphia, are of no other value than as shewing how he passed his time while not occupied with his public duties. It will be seen that he was constantly abroad, in company with the most enlightened society, and thus in a condition to collect the sentiments of all parties on the great subjects which then agitated the country. This trait in his habits is worth recording, and worth remembering, as it is a key to many incidents in his career not easily explained without it. In the present instance, also, these entries in his Diary afford an evidence of the high consideration in which he was already held, if we may judge from the eagerness with which his company was sought.

Mr. Pendleton and Patrick Henry spent a day and night with him at Mount Vernon, on their way to Philadelphia, and they all set off together for that place on the 31st of August.]

“ *September 4th.*—Breakfasted at Christiana ferry ;

dined at Chester; and lodged at Dr. Shippen's, in Philadelphia, after supping at the New Tavern.

" 5th.—Breakfasted and dined at Dr. Shippen's. Spent the evening at the tavern.

" 6th.—Dined at the New Tavern, after being in Congress all day.

" 7th.—Dined at Mr. Pleasant's, and spent the evening with a club at the New Tavern.

" 8th.—Dined at Mr. Andrew Allen's, and spent the evening at my own lodgings.

" 9th.—Dined at Mr. Tilghman's, and spent the evening at home.

" 10th.—Dined at Mr. Richard Penn's.—11th. At Mr. Griffin's.—12th. At Mr. James Allen's.—13th. At Mr. Thomas Mifflin's.

" 14th.—Rode over the Province Island, and dined at Mr. William Hamilton's.

" 15th.—Dined at my lodgings.

" 16th.—Dined at the Stone House, at an entertainment given by the city to the members of Congress.

" 17th.—Dined at Mr. Dickenson's, about two miles from town.

" 18th.—Dined at Mr. Hill's, about six miles from town.

" 19th.—Rode out in the morning, and dined at Mr. Ross's.

" 20th.—Dined with Mr. Fisher, the mayor.—21st. With Mr. James Mease.—22nd. With Mr. Chew, chief justice.—23rd. With Mr. Joseph Pemberton.—24th. With Mr. Thomas Willing, and spent the evening at the City Tavern.

" 25th.—Went to the Quaker meeting in the forenoon, and to St. Peter's in the afternoon; dined at my lodgings.

“ 26th.—Dined at old Dr. Shippen's, and went to the hospital.

“ 27th.—Dined at the tavern with the Virginia gentlemen.

“ 28th.—Dined at Mr. Edward Shippen's; spent the afternoon with the Boston gentlemen.

“ 29th.—Dined with Mr. Allen, and went to the ball in the afternoon.

“ 30th.—Dined at Dr. Cadwalader's.

“ October 1st.—At the Congress till three o'clock; dined with Mr. Hamilton, at Bush Hill.

“ 2nd.—Went to Christ's Church, and dined at the New Tavern.

“ 3rd.—At Congress till three o'clock; dined at Mr. Reed's.

“ 4th.—At Congress till three o'clock; dined at young Dr. Shippen's.

“ 5th.—At Congress as above; dined at Dr. Bond's.

—6th. At Congress; dined at Mr. Samuel Meredith's.

—7th. At Congress; dined at Mr. Thomas Smith's.—

8th. At Mr. John Cadwalader's.

“ 9th.—Went to the Presbyterian meeting in the forenoon, and the Romish church in the afternoon; dined at Bevans's.

“ 10th.—At Congress; dined at Mr. Morgan's.

“ 11th.—Dined at my lodgings, and spent the evening at Bevans's.

“ 12th.—At Congress all the forenoon; dined at Mr. Thomas Wharton's, and went to the Governor's club.

“ 13th.—At Congress till four o'clock; dined at my lodgings.—14th. Dined at Mr. Thomas Barclay's, and spent the evening at Smith's.—15th. Dined at Bevans's; spent the evening at home.

“ 16th.—Went to Christ's Church in the morning;

after which, rode to and dined at the Province Island ; supped at Byrns's.

“ 17th.—After Congress, dined on board with Captain Hamilton ; evening at Mr. Mifflin's.

“ 18th.—Dined at Dr. Rush's, and spent the evening at the New Tavern.—19th. Dined at Mr. Willing's ; evening at my own lodgings.

“ 20th.—Dined at the New Tavern with the Pennsylvania Assembly ; went to the ball afterwards.

“ 21st.—Dined and spent the evening at my lodgings.—22nd. Dined at Mr. Griffin's, and drank tea with Mr. Roberdeau.—23rd. Dined at my lodgings, and spent the evening there.—24th. Dined with Mr. Mease ; evening at the New Tavern.—25th. Dined at my lodgings.—26th. Dined at Bevans's, and spent the evening at the New Tavern.

“ 27th.—Set out on my return home ; dined at Chester, and lodged at Newcastle.”

[The Congress met at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, and was dissolved on the 26th of October. Washington took a deep interest in the transactions of this body, and gave his unremitted attendance during its sittings. It was his custom thoroughly to understand every important measure in which he engaged, to examine its grounds, and study and weigh its details. There is now among his papers a copy of the petition to the King, sent out by this Congress, carefully and handsomely written with his own hand. This was his habit through life. When he wished to possess himself perfectly of the contents of any paper, he would copy it in a fair hand, and apparently with deliberation, that no point might escape his notice, or fail of making its due impression. Another habit akin to this was, to condense documents and papers, by

writing down their substance in few words, and always in a distinct and clear method. Many papers of both these kinds have been preserved, particularly on political subjects after the revolution, to which we shall have occasion to recur hereafter.

The opinion entertained of him by his associates in the first Congress may, perhaps, be gathered from the following anecdote related by Mr. Wirt :—

“ Congress arose in October, and Mr. Henry returned to his native county. Here, as was natural, he was surrounded by his neighbours, who were eager to hear, not only what had been done, but what kind of men had composed that illustrious body. He answered their inquiries with all his wonted kindness and candour ; and having been asked by one of them, ‘ whom he thought the greatest man in Congress,’ he replied,—‘ If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator ; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is, unquestionably, the greatest man on that floor.’ Such was the penetration which, at that early period of Washington’s life, could pierce through his retiring modesty and habitual reserve, and estimate so correctly the unrivalled worth of his character.”—*Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 113.]

PREFATORY REMARKS TO WASHINGTON'S DIARY
OF 1st MAY, 1781.

[GENERAL WASHINGTON commenced a diary under this date, to which he prefixed the following remarks.]

“ To have a clearer understanding of the entries which may follow, it would be proper to recite in

detail our wants and our prospects ; but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words. Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States ; instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them ; instead of having the various articles of field-equipage in readiness to be delivered, the quartermaster-general, as the dernier resort, according to his account, is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively ; instead of having a regular system of transportation established upon credit, or funds in the quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent expenses of it, we have neither the one nor the other, and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people, souring their tempers, and alienating their affections ; instead of having the regiments completed to the new establishment, which ought to have been done agreeably to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any State in the Union has at this hour an eighth part of its quota in the field, and little prospect that I can see of ever getting more than half ; in a word, instead of having everything in readiness to take the field, we have nothing ; and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land troops, and money, from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S DIARY. (1781.)

[THE advanced troops of the American army were surprised near Croton River by about sixty horse and two hundred foot of the British, under the command of Colonel Delancey. Colonel Greene, who commanded the American party, was mortally wounded in his quarters. The enemy attempted to carry him off, but he died upon the road. Major Flagg was also killed. The loss of these two officers was much regretted by Washington, especially the former, who had upon several occasions distinguished himself, particularly in the defence of the post of Red Bank, in 1777, when he defeated Count Donop.]

“ *May 14th.*—About noon intelligence was received from General Paterson at West Point that the enemy were on the north side of Croton River in force ; that Colonel Greene, Major Flagg, and some other officers, with forty or fifty men, were surprised and cut off at the Bridge ; and that Colonel Scammell, with the New Hampshire troops, had marched to their assistance. I ordered the Connecticut troops to move and support those of New Hampshire. In the evening information was brought that the enemy, consisting of about sixty horse and one hundred and forty infantry, had retreated precipitately.”

“ *16th.*—Went to the posts at West Point ; received a particular account of the surprise of Colonel Greene, and the loss we sustained, which consisted of himself and Major Flagg killed ; three officers and a surgeon taken prisoners, the latter and two of the former wounded ; a sergeant and five rank and file killed ; five wounded, and thirty-three made prisoners, or missing ; in all forty-four, besides officers.”

[In Rivington's *Gazette* of May 16th, it is said that the party who made the attack marched from Morrisania under the command of Colonel Delancey, and consisted of about one hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry.]

WASHINGTON'S DIARY (CONFERENCE AT WEATHERSFIELD, 1781.)

[THE Count de Rochambeau, having received despatches from the Court of France, by his son, Viscount de Rochambeau, who had arrived at Boston in the *Concorde* frigate on the 9th of May, requested an interview with General Washington, to settle a definitive plan of the campaign, which was appointed to take place at Weathersfield. Washington was accompanied by Generals Knox and Duportail.]

“ *May 18th.*—Set out this day for the interview at Weathersfield with the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Barras. Reached Morgan's Tavern, forty-three miles from Fishkill Landing, after dining at Colonel Vandeberg's.

“ *19th.*—Breakfasted at Litchfield; dined at Farmington; and lodged at Weathersfield, at the house of Mr. Joseph Webb.

“ *20th.*—Had a good deal of private conversation with Governor Trumbull, who gave it to me as his opinion that, if any important offensive operation should be undertaken, he had little doubt of our obtaining men and provision adequate to our wants. In this opinion Colonel Wadsworth and others concurred.

“ *21st.*—Count de Rochambeau, with the Chevalier de Chastellux, arrived about noon. The appearance of the British fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, off Block Island, prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras.

“ 22nd.—Fixed with Count de Rochambeau the plan of the campaign.

“ 23rd.—Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded despatches to the governors of the four New England States, calling on them, in earnest and pointed terms, to complete their Continental battalions for the campaign at least, if it could not be done for the war or three years ; to hold a body of militia, according to the proportion given to them, ready to march in one week after being called for ; and to adopt some effectual mode to supply the troops when assembled with provisions and the means of transportation. I also solicited the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut earnestly for a loan of powder.

“ 24th.—Set out on my return to New Windsor ; dined at Farmington, and lodged at Litchfield.

“ 25th.—Breakfasted at Cogswell's ; dined at Colonel Vandeberg's ; and arrived at head-quarters about sunset.”

[The following is the result of the conference. Facts and propositions were stated by Count de Rochambeau in the form of queries, which were answered by General Washington with such remarks as the topics suggested. The substance only of the queries and propositions is here stated. The replies of Washington are in full, as transcribed from the records.]

ROCHAMBEAU.—Concerning a project of employing the squadron at Newport to transport the French army to the Chesapeake Bay, he consulted Count de Barras, who deemed it impracticable, chiefly on account of the inferiority of his naval force to that of the enemy. The objections were mentioned in detail.

WASHINGTON.—“ However desirable such an event

might have been, the reasons assigned by Count de Barras are sufficient to prove its impracticability.”

ROCHAMBEAU.—Should the French army march to the North River, will the squadron be safe at Newport under a guard of militia? By his secret instructions he is not permitted to separate his army, except for detachments of a short duration. Count de Barras thinks the squadron would not be secure if the enemy should take possession of Rhode Island; and, moreover, he has been instructed, that in case the army should march into the country, his fleet should proceed to Boston.

WASHINGTON. — “ It is General Washington’s opinion, that the plan of the campaign will render it necessary for the French army to march from Newport towards the North River as soon as possible, and that consequently it will be advisable for the Count de Barras (agreeably to his instructions in that case provided) to seek the first favourable moment of removing the squadron under his command to Boston.”

ROCHAMBEAU.—In that case, what does General Washington propose about Rhode Island? Does he intend it should be kept by a general officer and a body of American militia? It is to be observed that, if in the hurricane months the French fleet should come to the coast, the harbour of Rhode Island might be of use to the operations of the squadrons, either for a union to act against New York or as a place of retreat in case of misfortune.

WASHINGTON.—“ As the harbour of Rhode Island may be useful to the fleets of his most Christian Majesty, it is General Washington’s opinion that a force should be left for the security of Newport; but, as the enemy will not be in a condition, from the present circumstances of their affairs, to detach any consider-

able body of men to repossess the Island, it is agreed between Count de Rochambeau and General Washington that five hundred militia under a good officer will be sufficient as a guard for the works; but in case of an enterprise against them, a greater force should be called in for their defence."

ROCHAMBEAU.—If General Washington resolves that Rhode Island shall be left, and the works destroyed, does he consider the siege artillery, powder magazines, and heavy stores, which cannot follow the French army in a land march, as safe at Providence, under two hundred French troops and the militia? For such an object the English may attempt an enterprise to seize these stores. Would they not be more secure if taken with the fleet to Boston?

WASHINGTON.—“ In the former communications between Count de Rochambeau and General Washington, it was understood that the French fleet was to remain in the harbour of Newport after the removal of the army; and therefore Providence was fixed upon as a safe and proper deposit for the heavy artillery and spare stores. It now being determined that the fleet shall embrace the first opportunity of going round to the harbour of Boston, it is to be wished that the heavy artillery and spare stores should be sent round also. But, General Washington being informed by Count de Rochambeau that they have been already deposited at Providence, and that it will be impossible, under the present circumstances of the fleet and want of transportation, to remove them to Boston, he is of opinion that they may safely remain there under the guard of two hundred French troops, who will be aided by the militia of the country in case of need. The possession of Newport will add to their security.”

ROCHAMBEAU.—Should the squadron from the West

Indies arrive in these seas, an event that will probably be announced by a frigate beforehand, what operations will General Washington have in view, after a union of the French army with his own?

WASHINGTON.—“The enemy, by several detachments from New York, having reduced their force at that post to less than one-half of the number which they had at the time of the former conference at Hartford in September last, it is thought advisable to form a junction of the French and American armies upon the North River as soon as possible, and move down to the vicinity of New York, to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy may afford. Should the West India fleet arrive upon the coast, the force thus combined may either proceed in the operation against New York or may be directed against the enemy in some other quarter, as circumstances shall dictate. The great waste of men, which we have found from experience in the long marches to the southern States, the advanced season in which such a march must be commenced, and the difficulties and expense of land transportation thither, with other considerations too well known to Count de Rochambeau to need detailing, point out the preference which an operation against New York seems to have in the present circumstances over an attempt to send a force to the southward.”

WASHINGTON'S DIARY DURING THE JUNCTION OF
THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN ARMIES AT WHITE
PLAINS. (1781.)

“*July 2nd.*—General Lincoln's detachment embarked last night after dark, at or near Teller's Point; and as his operations were to be the movements of

two nights, he was desired to repair to Fort Lee this day, and reconnoitre the enemy's works, position, and strength, as well as he possibly could, and take his ultimate determination from appearances,—that is, to attempt the surprise, if the prospect was favourable, or to relinquish it, if it was not; and in the latter case to land above the mouth of Spiten Devil, and cover the Duke de Lauzun in his operation on Delancey's corps. At three o'clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental army, in order to cover the detached troops and improve any advantages which might be gained by them. I made a small halt at the New Bridge over Croton about nine miles from Peekskill, another at the church by Tarrytown till dusk (nine miles more), and completed the remaining part of the march in the night, arriving at Valentine's Hill (at Mile Square) about sunrise. Our baggage and tents were left standing at the camp at Peekskill.

“ 3rd.—The length of the Duke de Lauzun's march, and the fatigue of his corps, prevented his coming to the point of action at the hour appointed. In the meantime General Lincoln's party, who were ordered to prevent the retreat of Delancey's corps by the way of Kingsbridge, and prevent succours by that route, were attacked by the Yagers and others; but on the march of the army from Valentine's Hill, they retired to the Island. Being disappointed in both objects from the causes mentioned, I did not care to fatigue the troops any more, but suffered them to remain on their arms, while I spent a good part of the day in reconnoitring the enemy's works. In the afternoon we retired to Valentine's Hill, and lay upon our arms. The Duke de Lauzun and General Waterbury lay on the east side of the Brunx River on the East Chester road.

“ 4th.—Marched and took a position a little to the left of Dobbs’s Ferry, and marked a camp for the French army upon our left. The Duke de Lauzun marched to White Plains, and Waterbury to Horse-neck.

“ 5th.—Visited the French army, which had arrived at North Castle.

“ 6th.—The French army formed the junction with the American on the grounds marked out. The legion of Lauzun took a position in advance of the Plains on Chatterton’s Hill, west of the River Brunx. This day also the minister of France arrived in camp from Philadelphia.”

[The American army was encamped in two lines, with the right resting on Hudson’s River, near Dobbs’s Ferry. The French army was stationed on the hills at the left, in a single line reaching to the Brunx River. There was a valley of considerable extent between the two armies.]

WASHINGTON’S DIARY AT THE CAMP AT PHILLIPSBURG. (1781.)

[THE thoughts of General Washington had for several days been turned towards a southern expedition, instead of an attack on New York ; and the arrival of a reinforcement of Hessians in that city on the 11th of August had added still stronger motives for this change of plan. After receiving intelligence from Count de Grasse, therefore, that he should sail directly to the Chesapeake, no time was lost in determining what course to pursue. The news came from Count de Barras.]

“*July 14th.*—Received despatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of Count de Grasse from Cape François with between twenty-five and twenty-nine sail of the line, and three thousand two hundred land troops, on the 3rd instant, for the Chesapeake Bay; and the anxiety of the latter to have everything in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations at the moment of his arrival, as he should be under the necessity, from particular engagements with the Spaniards, to be in the West Indies by the middle of October. The Count de Barras at the same time intimated his intentions of an enterprise against Newfoundland; in opposition to which both Count de Rochambeau and myself remonstrated, as being impolitic and dangerous under the probability of Rodney’s coming on this coast.

“Matters having now come to a crisis, and a decided plan to be determined on, I was obliged,—from the shortness of Count de Grasse’s promised stay on this coast, the apparent disinclination of their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States with my requisitions for men hitherto, and the little prospect of greater exertion in future,—to give up all ideas of attacking New York, and instead thereof to remove the French troops and a detachment from the American army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the troops in that State.”*

* In the letter which accompanied the despatches above mentioned, Count de Barras said that Count de Grasse did not require him to form a junction with the West India squadron, but left him at liberty to undertake any other enterprise which he might think proper. In conformity with this permission, and with the spirit of the original but contingent instructions from the ministers, he proposed an expedition to Newfoundland, and said he should wish to take with him the land forces that had been left at Newport

WASHINGTON'S DIARY WHILE MOVING THE ARMY
TOWARDS NEW YORK. (1781.)

[WITH a view of ascertaining the exact position of the enemy on the north end of New York Island, General Washington resolved to reconnoitre their posts from the western shore of the Hudson. For this purpose, on the 18th of July, he crossed the river at Dobbs's Ferry, accompanied by Count de Rochambeau, General de Beville, and General Duportail. They were attended by an escort of one hundred and fifty men from the Jersey troops, then stationed on the west side of the river. The day was spent in reconnoitring from the high grounds between Dobbs's

under M. de Choisy. This step was strongly disapproved by both General Washington and Count de Rochambeau ; and as soon as he received their remonstrance against it, Count de Barras resolved to proceed to the Chesapeake.

It is probable, likewise, that some degree of personal feeling had its influence on the wishes of Count de Barras. In the council of war, which was held some time before respecting the removal of the fleet to Boston, after a debate indicating a little warmth among the officers, Count de Rochambeau represents M. de Barras as using the following language :—" No person is more interested than I am in the arrival of M. de Grasse in these seas. He was my junior ; he has just been appointed lieutenant-general. At the moment his approach is made known, I shall set sail to put myself under his orders. I will finish this campaign ; I will never make another."—*Mémoires de Rochambeau*, tom. i. p. 276. Hence it appears that the two naval commanders stood in a delicate relation to each other ; and it may be presumed that this was the reason why Count de Grasse left Count de Barras at liberty to join him or not, as he should be inclined ; and also why the latter preferred a separate enterprise.

The same anecdote is mentioned by M. Soulés, (*Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise*, tom. iii. p. 372,) whose work on the American revolution is the best written and most authentic in the French language. The author had access to public documents in the department of war ; but all the particulars relating to the operations of Rochambeau's army are taken almost word for word from a narrative which had been drawn up by Count de Rochambeau, and which was afterwards published as a part of his *Mémoires*. A large portion of M. Soulés' book was read in manuscript by Count de Rochambeau, and also by the minister of war ; and although this process might contribute to its accuracy, yet it would hardly leave unshackled the author's independence and judgment.

Ferry and Fort Lee. The subsequent manœuvres near Kingsbridge are briefly sketched in the following extract from his *Diary*.]

“*July 21st.*—I ordered about five thousand men to be ready to march at eight o’clock, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy’s posts at Kingsbridge, and of cutting off, if possible, such of Delancey’s corps as should be found without their lines. At the hour appointed, the march commenced, in four columns, on different roads. Major-General Parsons with the Connecticut troops and twenty-five of Sheldon’s horse formed the right column, with two field-pieces, on the North River road. The other two divisions, under Major-Generals Lincoln and Howe, together with the corps of sappers and miners and four field-pieces, formed the next column on the Sawmill River road. The right column of the French, on our left, consisted of the brigade of Bourbonnois, with the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, two field-pieces, and two twelve-pounders. Their left column was composed of the legion of Lauzun, one battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, the regiment of Soissonnois, two field-pieces, and two howitzers. General Waterbury, with the militia and state troops of Connecticut, was to march on the East Chester road, and to be joined at that place by the cavalry of Sheldon, for the purpose of scouring Frog’s Neck. Sheldon’s infantry was to join the legion of Lauzun, and scour Morrisania, and to be covered by Scammell’s light infantry, who were to advance through the fields, waylay the roads, stop all communication, and prevent intelligence from getting to the enemy. At Valentine’s Hill, the left column of the American troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did

the left of the French also, by *mistake*, as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineau's, and recross it at Williams's Bridge. The whole army (Parsons's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge about daylight, and formed on the heights back of Fort Independence, extending towards Delancey's Mills; while the legion of Lauzun and Waterbury's corps proceeded to scour Morrisania and Frog's Neck to little effect, as most of the refugees had fled, and hid themselves in such obscure places as not to be discovered, and by stealth got over to the islands adjacent, and to the enemy's shipping, which lay in the East River. A few, however, were caught, and some cattle and horses brought off.

“*July 22nd.*—The enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our movement, or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them, till the whole army was ready to display itself. After having fixed upon the ground and formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the engineers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works; and first from Tippet's Hill opposite to their left. From thence it was evident that the small redoubt (Fort Charles) near Kingsbridge would be absolutely at the command of a battery, which might be erected thereon. It also appeared equally evident that the fort on Cox's Hill was in bad repair, and little dependence placed in it. There is neither ditch nor friezing, and the north-east corner appears quite easy of access, occasioned, as it would seem, by a rock. The approach from the inner point is secured by a ledge of rocks, which would conceal a party from observation, till it got within about one hundred yards of the fort, around which, for that and a greater distance, the ground has little covering of bushes upon it. There is a house on this side under

Tippet's Hill, but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing-place most favourable to a partisan stroke. From this view, and every other I could get of Forts Tryon Knyphausen, and Laurel Hill, the works are formidable. There are no barracks or huts on the east side of the hill, on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stand, nor are there any on the hill opposite, except those by Fort George. Near the Blue Bell there is a number of houses, but they have more the appearance of stables than barracks. In the hollow, near the barrier gate, are about fourteen or fifteen tents, which are the only encampment I could see without the line of palisades. A continued hill from the creek, east of Haerlem River and a little below Morris's White House, has from every part of it the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining is within range of shot from batteries, which may be erected thereon. The general width of the river, along this range of hills, appears to be from one hundred to two hundred yards. The opposite shore, though more or less marshy, does not seem miry, and the banks are very easy of access. How far the battery, under cover of the blockhouse on the hill north-west of Haerlem town, is capable of scouring the plain, is difficult to determine from this side; but it would seem as if the distance were too great to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest the creek before mentioned, and which is also nearest the heights back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776. It unfortunately happens that in the rear of the continued hill before mentioned there is a deep swamp, and the grounds west of that swamp are not so high as the heights near Haerlem River. In the rear of this again is the Brunx, which is not to be crossed without boats below Delancey's Mills.

“*July 23rd.*—Went upon Frog’s Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Island, and the engineers attended with instruments to measure the distance across. Having finished the reconnoitre without damage, a few harmless shot only being fired at us, we marched back about six o’clock by the same routes we went down, but in a reversed order of march, and arrived at camp about midnight.”

[Supposing it probable that Count de Grasse would shortly appear off Sandy Hook with his fleet, General Washington wrote to him, on the 21st of July, in Count de Rochambeau’s cipher, acquainting him with the junction of the allied armies, their position and strength, and the force of the enemy; and also explained the plans then in view as to future operations. This letter was sent under cover to General Forman, at Monmouth, with a request that he would keep look-outs on the heights, and as soon as the fleet should approach, go on board the fleet in person and deliver the letter to Count de Grasse.]

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON’S DIARY RESPECTING
COUNT DE BARRAS. (1781.)

[WASHINGTON had written to M. de Barras on the 21st of July, as follows:—“I have no doubt but the reasons which induce you to decline the removal of the squadron under your command to the Chesapeake at this time are founded in propriety; but I am certain, could the measure have taken place, it would have been attended with most valuable consequences, more especially as, from reports and appearances, the enemy are about to bring part of their troops from Virginia to New York.”

The reason assigned by M. de Barras for remaining at Newport was, that he thought it imprudent to risk any new enterprise which might contravene the general plan of operations, and retard his junction with Count de Grasse. A few days afterwards (July 30), General Washington wrote in his *Diary*, that Count de Barras had expressed himself in still stronger terms against a removal from Newport.]

“*July 30th.*—This induced me to desist from further representing the advantages which would result from preventing a junction of the enemy’s force at New York, and blocking up those now in Virginia, lest in the attempt any disaster should happen, and the loss of, or damage to, his fleet should be ascribed to my obstinacy in urging a measure to which his own judgment was opposed, and the execution of which might impede his junction with the West India fleet, and thwart the views of the Count de Grasse upon this coast.”

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S AGRICULTURAL
DIARY. (1785.)

[THE agricultural papers among Washington’s manuscripts are numerous, containing instructions to his managers, remarks on the various modes of cultivating lands and on the different kinds of products, abstracts from the best treatises on agriculture, tables of rotations of crops, diaries, estimates, and records of his experiments and their results. The diaries were continued many years. In these he noted down, almost every day, the kind and quantity of work done on his farms, the times of planting, cultivating, and gathering, the crops of each lot, the amount of labour be-

stowed, and in general every circumstance which could tend to make him thoroughly acquainted with the details of the business from day to day, and enlarge his knowledge by experience. These papers are monuments of his prodigious industry and attention to affairs; but from the nature of the subject to which they relate, and from their comparatively small intrinsic value, they are not suited to the present work. A specimen only is here presented.]

“April 7th.—Cut two or three rows of the wheat (Cape wheat) within six inches of the ground, it being near eighteen inches high, that which was first sown, and the blades of the whole singed with the frost.

“8th.—Sowed oats to-day in drills, at Muddy Hole, with my barrel plough. Ground much too wet; some of it had been manured, but had been twice ploughed, then listed, then twice harrowed before sowing; which, had it not been for the frequent rains, would have put the ground in fine tilth. Ploughed up the turnip patch at home for orchard grass.

“10th. — Began bricklaying to-day. Completed sowing, with twenty-four quarts of oats, thirty-eight rows at Muddy Hole, ten feet apart, in the ground intended for corn.

“11th.—Sowed twenty-six rows of barley in the same field at Muddy Hole, in the same manner, with the drill plough, and with precisely the same workings the oats had adjoinning thereto. This was done with twelve quarts of seed. After three ploughings and three harrowings, sowed millet in eleven rows three feet apart, opposite to the overseer's house, in the Neck. Perceived the last-sowed oats at Dogue Run and those sown in the Neck were coming up.

“12th.—Sowed sixteen acres of Siberian wheat,

with eighteen quarts, in rows between corn, eight feet apart. This ground had been prepared in the following manner:—1. A single furrow; 2. another in the same, to deepen it; 3. four furrows to throw the earth back into the two first, which made ridges of five furrows. These, being done some time ago, and the sowing retarded by frequent rains, had got hard; therefore, 4. before the seed was sown, these ridges were split again by running twice in the middle of them, both times in the same furrow; 5. after which the ridges were harrowed; and, 6. where the ground was lumpy, run a spiked roller with a harrow at the tail of it, which was found very efficacious in breaking the clods and pulverizing the earth, and would have done it perfectly, if there had not been too much moisture remaining from the late rains. After this, harrowing and rolling where necessary, the wheat was sown with the drill plough on the reduced ridges, eight feet apart, as above mentioned, and harrowed in with the small harrow belonging to the plough. But it should have been observed that, after the ridges were split by the middle double furrows, and before they were closed again by the harrow, a little manure was sprinkled in them.

“At Dogue Run, listing the ground intended for Siberian wheat, barley, &c., a second time.

“At Muddy Hole, sowed with the drill plough two rows of the Albany pease between the corn rows, to see whether they would come to anything for want of the support which they give one another when sown broad-cast. The same management given the ground as for oats and barley at this place.

“13th.—Sowed oats in drills ten feet apart, between corn rows in the Neck, twenty-four rows, in the following manner:—1. A single furrow; 2. another and

deep furrow in this ; 3. four bouts to these ; 4. ploughed again in the same manner ; 5. a single furrow in the middle of these ; 6. manure sprinkled in this furrow ; 7. the great harrow over all these ; and, 8. the seed sowed after the harrow with the drill or barrel plough, and harrowed in with the harrow at the tail of it.

“ *Note.*—It should have been observed that the field intended for experiments at this plantation is divided into three parts, by bouting rows running crosswise ; and that manure and the *last* single furrow are (at least for the present) bestowed on the most westerly of those nearest the Barn.

“ *14th.*—Harrowed the ground at Muddy Hole, which had been twice ploughed, for Albany pease in broad-cast. At Dogue Run began to sow the remainder of the Siberian wheat, about fourteen quarts, which had been left at the Ferry ; run deep furrows in the middle, and made five-feet ridges. Did the same for carrots in the same field on the west side next the meadow. Ordered a piece of ground, two acres, to be ploughed at the Ferry around the old corn-house, to be drilled with corn and potatoes between, each ten feet apart, row from row of the same kind. Sowed in the Neck, or rather planted, next to the eleven rows of millet, thirty-five rows of the rib-grass seeds, three feet apart, and one foot asunder in the rows.

“ *15th.*—Sowed six bushels of the Albany pease broad-cast, at Muddy Hole, on about an acre and a half of ground, which was harrowed yesterday, as mentioned above.

“ Sowed in the Neck, alongside of the rib-grass, fifty rows of burnet seed, exactly as the last was put in ; that is, in three-feet rows, and one foot in the row.”

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S TOUR UP THE
POTOMAC. (1785.)

[AGREEABLY to acts of the Virginia and Maryland Assemblies, for opening and extending the navigation of the Potomac from Georgetown to Harper's Ferry, the directors, among whom was Washington, made a tour of inspection to ascertain in what places and to what extent it was necessary to construct canals and remove obstructions on the river.

The following extract serves merely to shew that General Washington, as usual wherever he moved, attracted the attention of the people, and demonstrations of respect to his person.]

“ *August 5th.*—After breakfast, and after directing Mr. Rumsey, when he had marked the way and set the labourers at work, to meet us at Harper's Ferry, myself and the directors set out for the same place by way of Fredericktown, in Maryland. Dined at a Dutchman's two miles above the mouth of the Monococy, and reached Fredericktown about five o'clock. Drank tea, supped, and lodged, at Governor Johnson's. In the evening the bells rang, and guns were fired; and a committee waited upon me by order of the gentlemen of the town, to request that I would stay the next day and partake of a public dinner, which the town were desirous of giving me. But as arrangements had been made, and the time for examining the Shenandoah Falls, previously to the day fixed for receiving labourers into pay, was short, I found it most expedient to decline the honour.”

WASHINGTON'S DIARY AT GENERAL CONVENTION
AT PHILADELPHIA. (1787.)*

[It was at this Convention that the Constitution of the United States was first proposed to be substituted for the articles of confederation. It was subsequently adopted by Congress, and in consequence of its creation of that office, led to the unanimous election of Washington to the high dignity of First President of the United States.]

“*May 9th.*—Crossed from Mount Vernon to Mr. Digges’s a little after sunrise, and pursuing the route by the way of Baltimore, dined at Mr. Richard Henderson’s in Bladensburg, and lodged at Major Snowden’s, where, feeling very severely a violent headache and sick stomach, I went to bed early.

“*10th.*—A very great appearance of rain in the morning and a little falling, induced me, though well recovered, to wait till about eight o’clock before I set off. At one o’clock I arrived at Baltimore; dined at the Fountain Inn, and supped and lodged at Dr. M’Henry’s; rain in the evening.

“*11th.*—Set off before breakfast; rode twelve miles to Skirrett’s; baited there, and proceeded without halting (weather threatening) to the ferry at Havre de Grace, where I dined, but could not cross, the wind being turbulent and squally. Lodged there.

“*12th.*—With difficulty, on account of the wind, crossed the Susquehanna. Breakfasted at the ferry-house on the east side. Dined at the Head of Elk (Hollingsworth’s tavern), and lodged at Wilmington. At the head of Elk I was overtaken by Mr. Francis Corbin, who took a seat in my carriage.

“ 13th.—About eight o'clock Mr. Corbin and myself set out, and dined at Chester (Mr. Wilky's), where I was met by Generals Mifflin (now speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly), Knox, and Varnum, Colonels Humphreys and Menges, and Majors Jackson and Nicholas, with whom I proceeded to Philadelphia. At Gray's Ferry the city light-horse, commanded by Colonel Miles, met me and escorted me in; and the artillery officers, who stood arranged, saluted me as I passed. Alighted through a crowd at Mr. House's; but being again warmly and kindly pressed by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris to lodge with them, I did so, and had my baggage removed thither. Waited on the president, Dr. Franklin,* as soon as I got to town. On my arrival the bells were chimed.

“ 14th.—This being the day appointed for the convention to meet, such members as were in town assembled at the State-house; but only two States being represented,—namely, Virginia and Pennsylvania, agreed to attend at the same place at eleven o'clock to-morrow. Dined in a family way at Mr. Morris's.

“ 15th.—Repaired at the hour appointed to the State-house; but no more States being represented than yesterday, though several more members had come in, we agreed to meet again to-morrow. Governor Randolph from Virginia came in to-day. Dined with the members of the general meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati.

“ 16th.—No more than two States being yet represented, agreed, till a quorum of them should be formed, to alter the hour of meeting at the State-house to one o'clock. Dined at the president Dr. Franklin's, and drank tea and spent the evening at Mr. John Penn's.

* President of Pennsylvania.

“ 17th.—Mr. Rutledge from Charlestown, and Mr. Charles Pinckney from Congress, having arrived, gave a representation to South Carolina, and Colonel Mason, getting in this evening, placed all the delegates from Virginia on the floor of the convention. Dined at Mr. Powel’s, and drank tea there.

“ 18th.—The representation from New York appeared on the floor to-day. Dined at Gray’s Ferry, and drank tea at Mr. Morris’s; after which accompanied Mrs. Morris and some other ladies to hear a Mrs. O’Connell read. The lady, being reduced in circumstances, had recourse to this expedient to obtain a little money. Her performance was tolerable; at the College Hall.

“ 19th.—No more States represented. Dined at M. Ingersoll’s; spent the evening at my lodgings, and retired to my room soon.

“ 20th.—Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Morris and other company at their farm called the Hills; returned in the afternoon and drank tea at Mr. Powel’s.

“ 21st.—Delaware State was represented. Dined and drank tea at Mr. Bingham’s in great splendour.

“ 22nd.—The representation from North Carolina was completed, which made a representation for five States. Dined and drank tea at Mr. Morris’s.

“ 23rd.—No more States being represented, I rode to General Mifflin’s to breakfast; after which, in company with him, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and others, I crossed the Schuylkill above the Falls; visited Mr. Peters’s, Mr. Penn’s seat, and Mr. William Hamilton’s. Dined at Mr. Chew’s with the wedding guests, (Colonel Howard of Baltimore having married his daughter Peggy.) Drank tea there in a very large circle of ladies.

“ 24th.—No more States represented. Dined and

drank tea at Mr. John Ross's. One of my postilion boys (Paris) being sick, requested Dr. Jones to attend him.

“ 25th.—Another delegate coming in from the State of New Jersey, gave it a representation, and increased the number to seven, which forming a quorum of the thirteen, the members present resolved to organize the body; when, by a unanimous vote, I was called up to the chair as president. Major William Jackson was appointed secretary; and a committee was chosen, consisting of three members, to prepare rules and regulations for conducting the business; and after appointing door-keepers, the convention adjourned till Monday, to give time to the committee to report the matter referred to them. Returned many visits to-day. Dined at Mr. Thomas Willing's, and spent the evening at my lodgings.

“ 26th.—Returned all my visits this forenoon. Dined with a club at the City Tavern, and spent the evening at my quarters, writing letters.

“ 27th.—Went to the Romish church to high mass. Dined, drank tea, and spent the evening at my lodgings.

“ 28th.—Met in convention at ten o'clock. Two States more,—namely, Massachusetts and Connecticut, were on the floor to-day. Established rules, agreeably to the plan brought in by the committee for the government of the convention, and adjourned. Dined at home, and drank tea in a large circle at Mr. Francis's.

“ 29th.—Attended convention and dined at home; after which accompanied Mrs. Morris to the benefit concert of a Mr. Juhan.

“ 30th.—Attended convention; dined with Mr. Vaughan; drank tea, and spent the evening at a Wednesday evening's party at Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence's.

“ 31st.—The State of Georgia came on the floor of the convention to-day, which made a representation of ten States. Dined at Mr. Francis’s, and drank tea with Mrs. Meredith.

“ *June 1st.*—Attending in convention ; and nothing being suffered to transpire, no minutes of the proceedings have been, or will be, inserted in this diary. Dined with Mr. John Penn, and spent the evening at a superb entertainment at Bush-Hill given by Mr. Hamilton, at which were more than a hundred guests.

“ *2nd.*—Major Jenifer coming in, with sufficient powers for the purpose, gave a representation to Maryland ; which brought all the States in the Union into convention, except Rhode Island, which had refused to send delegates. Dined at the City Tavern with the club, and spent the evening at my own quarters.

“ *September 17th.*—Met in convention, when the constitution received the unanimous assent of eleven States, and of Colonel Hamilton from New York, the only delegate from thence in convention, and was subscribed to by every member present, except Governor Randolph, and Colonel Mason from Virginia, and Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts. The business being thus closed, the members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other ; after which I returned to my lodgings, did some business with, and received the papers from, the secretary of the convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed after not less than five, for a large part of the time six, and sometimes seven hours’ sitting every day (except Sundays and the ten days’ adjournment to give a committee an opportunity and time to arrange the business), for more than four months.

FRENCH PUBLICATION OF WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL OF
A TOUR DOWN THE YOUGHIOGANY. (1754.)

[WASHINGTON having returned on the 16th of January, 1754, from his mission over the Allegany Mountains, was appointed to the command of two companies, with orders to proceed to the Fork of the Ohio, and to finish a fort begun under the auspices of the Ohio company. His instructions were, to act on the defensive, but in case any attempts were made to obstruct the works or interrupt their settlements, by any person whatever, he was to restrain all such offenders ; or, in case of resistance, to make prisoners of, or kill and destroy them. On the 2nd of April he arrived at Will's Creek, having been joined on the route by a detachment under Captain Stephen. A party of men (forty-one in number), under Captain Trent, had preceded him to the Fork on the Ohio (the Monongahela), and while engaged in building the fort, they were surprised by a body of French troops, who descended the river from Verango, consisting of one thousand men, with eighteen pieces of artillery, sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes, under command of Captain Contreœur, to whom, the captain and lieutenant being absent, the ensign surrendered ; being allowed, however, to draw off his men, arms, and working tools. This was the first open act of hostility in the memorable war of seven years that followed. The French enlarged and completed the fort, which they called Fort Duquesne, in compliment to the Governor of Canada.

The little army under Washington, consisting of only three small companies, occupying an outpost beyond which there was no barrier to oppose the formidable French force on the Ohio, was, in consequence, marched boldly into the wilderness, through which they had to prepare the road as they advanced,

with a view, if possible, to penetrate to the Monongahela, at the mouth of Red-stone Creek, and erect their fortification. This, however, was a work of immense difficulty; and, to add to their distresses, there was a failure of provisions. At the Youghiogany, where they had to build a bridge, Colonel Washington was informed that, except at one place, a passage might be had down that river, to ascertain which fact, he embarked in a canoe with five men on a voyage of discovery, which, after thirty miles' progression, was abandoned as impracticable.

In his journal, which was afterwards captured and published by the French government, Colonel Washington gives the following account of this tour of discovery.]

“ On the 20th of May, I embarked in a canoe, with Lieutenant West, three soldiers, and an Indian. Having followed the river for about half a mile, we were obliged to go ashore, where we found a trader, who seemed to discourage my attempting to seek a passage by water, which caused me to change my intention of having canoes made. I ordered the troops to wade the river, as the waters had now sufficiently subsided. I continued to descend the river, but finding our canoe too small for six persons, we stopped to construct a bark, with which and the canoe we reached Turkey Foot, just as the night began. Eight or ten miles further onward we encountered several difficulties, which were of little consequence. At this point we stopped some time to examine the position, and found it well suited for a fort, being at the mouth of three branches or small rivers, and having a gravelly foundation.

“ We went down about two miles to examine the course of the river, which is straight, with many currents, and full of rocks and rapids. We crossed it, though the water was high, which induced me to be-

lieve the canoes would easily pass, but this was not effected without difficulty. Besides these rapids, we met with others, but the water being more shallow and the current smoother, we passed them easily. We then found the water very deep, and mountains rising on both sides. After proceeding about ten miles, we came to a fall in the river, which arrested our progress, and compelled us to go ashore and desist from any further attempt."—*Mémoire contenant le Précis des Faits*, &c., p. 121.*

* The full title of the book which is here quoted, is as follows:—"MÉMOIRE contenant le Précis des Faits, avec leurs Pièces Justificatives, pour servir de Réponse aux OBSERVATIONS envoyées, par les Ministres d'Angleterre, dans les Cours de l'Europe. A Paris; de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1756." Four or five years had been consumed in unavailing attempts at a negotiation between England and France, with the ostensible design on both sides to effect a reconciliation of difficulties, but neither party in reality was solicitous to avoid a war. At length hostilities were commenced in time of peace, and each nation charged the other with being the aggressor. Two French vessels on their way to Canada were taken by the British Admiral Boscawen, and to justify this procedure, the "*Observations*" above mentioned were published, in which the position was maintained that the French had actually begun the war by their encroachments with a military force on the Ohio frontiers. To repel this charge, the French government circulated among the courts of Europe the *Mémoire*, whose title is here given, the object of which was to prove that the British had been the first to transgress.

This *Mémoire* is curious, as containing many official and other documents relating to the question at issue, which are nowhere else to be found, and particularly selections from the manuscripts of General Braddock and of Washington, which the French had captured at the disastrous battle of the Monongahela. Among other things are Braddock's instructions, several of his letters to the ministry, and extracts purporting to be from a journal kept by Washington during his preceding campaign. With what fidelity these were published cannot now be known, but as it was the object of the *Mémoire* to prove a contested point, it may be presumed that such parts of the papers only were brought forward as would make for that end. Coming out as they did, however, under the name and sanction of the government, there can be no room for doubt that the official papers at least were given with accuracy.

These papers were originally published by the French government in a duodecimo volume. A copy was soon afterwards found in a French prize that was brought to New York. It was there translated into English, and printed the year after its appearance in Paris. The translation was hastily executed, and is worthy of little credit, being equally uncouth in its style, and faulty in its attempts to convey the sense of the original.

EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S DIARY ON LEAVING
MOUNT VERNON TO BE INAUGURATED PRESIDENT.

[WASHINGTON having been chosen President of the United States, Mr. Charles Thomson was appointed by Congress to be the bearer of the intelligence to Mount Vernon. Washington having accepted that dignity, set out two days afterwards on his journey to New York, to assume the duties of his high office. The following is the entry in his diary under that date.]

“*April 16th, 1789.*—About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity ; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.”

LAST ENTRIES IN WASHINGTON'S DIARY. (1799.)

[THIS extract has no other interest than that derived from its being the part of Washington's diary written during the last week of his life. The words in which the entry is made on the 13th of December are probably the last he ever wrote, as he was attacked that night with the disorder of which he died.]

“*December 7th.*—Rainy morning, with the wind at north ; mercury at 37. Afternoon clear and pleasant ; wind westerly. Mercury 41 at night. Dined at Lord Fairfax's.

“*8th.*—Morning perfectly clear, calm, and pleasant ; but about nine o'clock the wind came from the north-

west and blew frost. Mercury 38 in the morning, and 40 at night.

“ 9th.—Morning clear and pleasant, with a light wind from north-west. Mercury at 33. Pleasant all day ; afternoon calm. Mercury 39 at night. Mr. Howell Lewis and wife set off on their return home after breakfast ; and Mr. Lawrence, Lewis, and Washington Custis, on a journey to Kent.

“ 10th.—Morning clear and calm ; mercury at 31. Afternoon lowering ; mercury at 42, and wind brisk from the southward. A very large hoar-frost this morning.

“ 11th.—But little wind, and raining. Mercury 44 in the morning, and 38 at night. About nine o'clock the wind shifted to the north-west, and it ceased raining, but continued cloudy. Lord Fairfax, his son Thomas, and daughter, Mrs. Warner Washington and son Whiting, and Mr. John Herbert, dined here, and returned after dinner.

“ 12th.—Morning cloudy ; wind at north-east ; mercury 33. A large circle round the moon last night. About one o'clock it began to snow ; soon after to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. Mercury 28 at night.

“ 13th. Morning snowing, and about three inches deep. Wind at north-east, and mercury at 30. Continued snowing till one o'clock, and about four it became perfectly clear. Wind in the same place but not hard. Mercury 28 at night.”

SPEECHES TO CONGRESS.

INAUGURAL SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
APRIL 30TH, 1789.

FELLOW-CITIZENS of the Senate and House of Representatives, — Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years ; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare

aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of

providential agency. And, in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of commu-

nities and interests ; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire ; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity ; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained ; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment intrusted into the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient, at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good ; for I assure myself that,

whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication that, since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled

unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — I thank you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis, the confidence reposed in me by my fellow-citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to presage a more prosperous issue to my administration than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed, and in a conviction that the Senate will at all times co-operate in every measure which may tend to promote the welfare of this confederated republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — Your very affectionate address produces emotions which I know not how to express. I feel that my past endeavours in the service of my country are far overpaid by its goodness ; and I fear much that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and an ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to co-operate, and a continuance of the blessings of Heaven on our beloved country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

JANUARY 8TH, 1790.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself of congratulating you on the present favourable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received), the rising credit and respectability of our country, and the general and increasing good will towards the government of the Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflec-

tion, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations, and to secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will, in the course of the present important session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent on others for essential, particularly for military supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations. But you will perceive, from the information contained in the papers which I shall direct to be laid before you (comprehending a communication from the commonwealth of Virginia), that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union, and, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interest of the United States requires that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good ; and, to this end, that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures, of the United States is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home ; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security

of a free constitution it contributes in various ways ; by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people ; and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights ; to discern and provide against invasions of them ; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society ; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—I saw with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last session, the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honour and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavours to devise such a provision as will be truly consistent with the end, I add an equal reliance on the cheerful co-operation of the other branch of the legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply con-

cerned, and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I have directed the proper officers to lay before you respectively such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed ; and I shall derive great satisfaction from a co-operation with you in the pleasing though arduous task of insuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — I thank you for your address, and for the assurances which it contains of attention to the several matters suggested by me to your consideration.

Relying on the continuance of your exertions for the public good, I anticipate for our country the salutary effects of upright and prudent counsels.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — I receive with pleasure the assurances you give me, that you will diligently and anxiously pursue such measures as shall appear to you conducive to the interests of your constituents ; and that

an early and serious consideration will be given to the various and weighty matters recommended by me to your attention.

I have full confidence that your deliberations will continue to be directed by an enlightened and virtuous zeal for the happiness of our country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 8TH, 1790.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—In meeting you again, I feel much satisfaction in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favourable prospects which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our country with plenty, and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad, as well as at home; and the revenues allotted for this and other national purposes have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit, and, let me add, as it bears an honourable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

In conformity to the powers vested in me by acts of the last session, a loan of three millions of florins, towards which some provisional measures had pre-

viously taken place, has been completed in Holland. As well the celerity with which it has been filled, as the nature of the terms (considering the more than ordinary demand for borrowing, created by the situation of Europe,) gives a reasonable hope that the further execution of those powers may proceed with advantage and success. The Secretary of the Treasury has my directions to communicate such further particulars as may be requisite for more precise information.

Since your last sessions, I have received communications by which it appears that the district of Kentucky, at present a part of Virginia, has concurred in certain propositions contained in a law of that state, in consequence of which the district is to become a distinct member of the Union, in case the requisite sanction of Congress be added. For this sanction, application is now made. I shall cause the papers on this very important transaction to be laid before you. The liberality and harmony with which it has been conducted will be found to do great honour to both the parties ; and the sentiments of warm attachment to the Union and its present government expressed by our fellow-citizens of Kentucky, cannot fail to add an affectionate concern for their particular welfare to the great national impressions under which you will decide on the case submitted to you.

It has been heretofore known to Congress that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians from the northwest side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on and near the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations ; and being emboldened by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighbouring tribes

as could be seduced to join in their hostilities, or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States, renewed their violences with fresh alacrity and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrificed, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking, whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the western settlements that the aggressors should be made sensible that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act which empowers the President to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers ; and I have accordingly authorized an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such drafts of militia as were deemed sufficient. The event of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary of War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended.

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings. It requires also that we should not overlook the tendency of a war, and even of preparations for a war, among the nations most concerned in active commerce

with this country, to abridge the means, and thereby at least enhance the price, of transporting its valuable productions to their proper markets. I recommend it to your serious reflection, how far and in what mode it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies, by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moments most interesting to both of these great objects. Our fisheries and the transportation of our own produce offer us abundant means for guarding ourselves against this evil.

Your attention seems to be not less due to that particular branch of our trade which belongs to the Mediterranean. So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of it distressful to us, that you will not think any deliberations misemployed which may lead to its relief and protection.

The laws you have already passed for the establishment of a judiciary system have opened the doors of justice to all descriptions of persons. You will consider, in your wisdom, whether improvements in that system may yet be made, and particularly whether a uniform process of execution on sentences issuing from the federal courts be not desirable through all the States.

The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient to regulate by law the exercise of that jurisdiction and those functions which are permitted them, either by express convention or by a friendly indulgence in the places of their residence. The consular convention, too, with his Most Christian Majesty, has stipulated in certain cases the aid of the national authority to his consuls

established here. Some legislative provision is requisite to carry these stipulations into full effect.

The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post-office and post-roads, are subjects which, I presume, you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The sufficiency of the revenues you have established for the objects to which they are appropriated, leaves no doubt that the residuary provisions will be commensurate to the other objects for which the public faith stands now pledged. Allow me, moreover, to hope that it will be a favourite policy with you, not merely to secure a payment of the interest of the debt funded, but, as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself. The appropriation you have made of the western lands explains your dispositions on this subject; and I am persuaded the sooner that valuable fund can be made to contribute, along with other means, to the actual reduction of the public debt, the more salutary will the measure be to every public interest, as well as the more satisfactory to our constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—In pursuing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion that your consultations will be equally marked with wisdom and animated by the love of your country. In whatever belongs to my duty, you shall have all the co-operation which an undiminished zeal for its welfare can inspire. It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if, by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established

government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen,—These assurances of favourable attention to the subjects I have recommended, and of entire confidence in my views, make the impression on me which I ought to feel. I thank you for them both, and shall continue to rely much for the success of all our measures for the public good on the aid they will receive from the wisdom and integrity of your counsels.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen,—The sentiments expressed in your address are entitled to my particular acknowledgment. Having no object but the good of our country, this testimony of approbation and confidence from its immediate representatives must be among my best rewards, as the support of your enlightened patriotism has been among my greatest encouragements. Being persuaded that you will continue to be actuated by the same auspicious principle, I look forward to the happiest consequences from your deliberations during the present session.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
OCTOBER 25TH, 1791.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I meet you upon the present occasion with the feelings which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and by a persuasion equally strong that the labours of the session which has just commenced will, under the guidance of a spirit no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

Numerous as are the providential blessings which demand our grateful acknowledgments, the abundance with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. In tracing their causes, you will have remarked with particular pleasure the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed; and you will have observed with no less interest new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the several official communications that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the bank of the United States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and

pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.

In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these, is the defence and security of the western frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship the well-disposed tribes of Indians, effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations. Offensive operations have therefore been directed; to be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions which have been completed were carried on, under the authority and at the expense of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky, whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct, are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and

placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired that all need of coercion in future may cease ; and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary that they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice ; that the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made ; that commerce with them should be promoted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may from time to time suit their condition ; that the executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means, to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace ; and that efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties and endanger the peace of the Union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honourable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act laying

certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the subdivisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation as would conciliate a reasonable competency with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped that the circumspection which has been used will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects ; but it is probable that, with a view to the first, in some instances a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions with which this law has been received by the community have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law ; and I entertain a full confidence that it will, in all, give way to motives which arise out of a just sense of duty and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm ad-

herence to constitutional and necessary acts of government the fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed and announced by proclamation ; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city has also been laid out agreeably to a plan which will be placed before Congress ; and as there is a prospect, favoured by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary public buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified, (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal, and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried ;) and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland, the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins, had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured immediate completion.

Gentlemen of the Senate, — Two treaties which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and Six Nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — In entering upon the discharge of your legislative trust, you must anticipate with pleasure that many of the difficulties necessarily incident to the first arrangements of a new government for an extensive country have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors in co-operation with the other branch of the legislature. The important objects which remain to be accomplished will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act making provision for the debt of the United States having expired, statements from the proper department will as soon as possible apprise you of the exact result. Enough, however, is known already to afford an assurance that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording at the same time proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt

of the United States which remains unsubscribed, will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you that the revenues which have been established promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supersede for the present the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention is, a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made ; of all which a proper estimate will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution. Their importance will recall them to your attention ; and I trust that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention. These are, the militia ; the post-office and post-roads ; the mint ; weights and measures ; a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

.The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the

preservation of order. In connexion with this, the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangements, exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post-roads on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility, of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government ; which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint. Measures have been taken, pursuant to that resolution, for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

A uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution ; and, if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honourable to the public councils than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the

United States is particularly urged, among other reasons, by the important considerations, that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt ; that, if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal ; and that, being free to discharge the principal but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen,—This manifestation of your zeal for the honour and the happiness of our country derives its full value from the share which your deliberations have already had in promoting both.

I thank you for the favourable sentiments with which you view the part I have borne in the arduous trust committed to the government of the United States ; and desire you to be assured that all my zeal will continue to second those further efforts for the public good which are insured by the spirit in which you are entering on the present session.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen,—The pleasure I derive from an assurance of your attention to the objects I have recommended to you, is doubled by your concurrence in the testimony I have borne to the prosperous condition of our public affairs. Relying on the sanctions of your enlightened judgment, and on your patriotic aid, I

shall be the more encouraged in all my endeavours for the public weal, and particularly in those which may be required on my part for executing the salutary measures I anticipate from your present deliberations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

NOVEMBER 6TH, 1792.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — It is some abatement of the satisfaction with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have for some time past distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquillity to the frontiers, to stop the further effusion of blood, to arrest the progress of expense, to forward the prevalent wish of the nation for peace, has led to strenuous efforts through various channels to accomplish these desirable purposes ; in making which efforts I consulted less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable, or if not attainable, to ascertain unequivocally that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued,

and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success thus far, will, I trust, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by anything that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service. A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre the emissaries of peace; it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern to be informed, that besides the continuation of hostile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennessee River, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of Holston, made with the Cherokee nation in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations; but the event has not answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the United States in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you.

Hitherto, defensive precautions only have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the United States, or their citizens, is even alleged as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarter.

I have reason to believe that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete ; and pains have been taken to discipline and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information as a guide to the legislative consultations, and, among other things, will enable Congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be advisable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenues for the present year is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burthens on the community for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session ; and it is proper to add that the information alluded to proceeds upon the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostility.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier, and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If, in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening, in local extent; and as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged a special interposition on my part proper and advisable; and under this impression have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings having for their object, or tending, to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And Congress may be assured that nothing within constitutional and legal limits which may depend on me shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws. In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the Supreme Court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniences that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which in some measure tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the Union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign

powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dimes, the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondence with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law which establishes the post-office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country. Should this upon due inquiry be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a constitution for the State of Kentucky has been notified to me. The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction which arises from an event interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you that, since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts severally making provision for

the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins ; one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one-half per cent., with an allowance of four per cent. in lieu of all charges ; and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per cent., with an allowance of five and one-half per cent. in one case, and of five per cent. in the other, in lieu of all charges. The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — I entertain a strong hope that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement, for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made for the Bank of the United States, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require

provision, will demand, and I doubt not, will engage, your early attention.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I content myself with recalling your attention generally to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these, that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents, such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government upon which, under Divine Providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

I derive much pleasure, Gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledgments. In my fu-

ture endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call me, I shall not cease to count upon the firm, enlightened, and patriotic support of the Senate.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen,—It gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws, and the assurance which you at the same time give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the House of Representatives; a perseverance in which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
DECEMBER 3RD, 1793.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,—Since the commencement of the term for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large the deep and respectful sense which I feel of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While,

on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality with which I have been honoured by my country ; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives, and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage which commanded me to resume the executive power ; and I humbly implore that Being on whose will the fate of nations depends to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed therefore to be my duty to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties ; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the proclamation which will be laid before you was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes permitted by our treaty of commerce with

France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce, this plan of procedure; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases which, though dependent on principles already recognised, demand some further provisions.

Where individuals shall within the United States array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long-established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property, and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last-mentioned cases,

it is hoped that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents which will be presented to you will shew the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected, as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act "more

effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States" has organized them so as to produce their full effect ; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme ; and whether a material feature in an improvement of it ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone.

The connexion of the United States with Europe has become extremely interesting. The occurrences which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the executive will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligences which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops granted by law shall be compensated by succours of militia, or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been

also demonstrated by the executive for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers which will be delivered to you disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes ; and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labours to render tranquillity with the savages permanent by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations on behalf of the United States is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit ; but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — The commissioners charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States, concluded their important functions within the time limited by

law ; and the balances struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an instalment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent. for the term of ten years ; and the expenses of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt ; on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenues hitherto has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it ; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will therefore, it is presumed, be requisite ; and it is hoped that these may be made consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy ; and to this primary good nothing can conduce more than a faithful representa-

tion of public proceedings, diffused without restraint throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — The several subjects to which I have now referred open a wide range to your deliberations, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candour, so shall not the public happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest co-operations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — The pleasure expressed by the Senate on my re-election to the station which I fill, commands my sincere and warmest acknowledgments. If this be an event which promises the smallest addition to the happiness of our country, as it is my duty, so shall it be my study, to realize the expectation.

The decided approbation which the Proclamation now receives from your House, by completing the proof that this measure is considered as manifesting a vigilant attention to the welfare of the United States, brings with it a peculiar gratification to my mind.

The other important subjects which have been communicated to you will, I am confident, receive a due discussion, and the result will, I trust, prove fortunate to the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — I shall not affect to conceal the cordial satisfaction which I derive from the address of the House of Representatives. Whatsoever those services may be which you have sanctioned by your favour, it is a sufficient reward that they have been accepted as they were meant. For the fulfilment of your anticipations of the future, I can give no other assurance than that the motives which you approve shall continue unchanged.

It is truly gratifying to me to learn that the Proclamation has been considered as a seasonable guard against the interruption of the public peace. Nor can I doubt that the subjects which I have recommended to your attention, as depending on legislative provisions, will receive a discussion suited to their importance. With every reason, then, it may be expected that your deliberations, under the Divine blessing, will be matured, to the honour and happiness of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
NOVEMBER 19TH, 1794.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — When we call to mind the gracious

indulgence of Heaven by which the American people became a nation ; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness, to which it seems destined, with the deepest regret do I announce to you that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, “ to lay and collect excises.” In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was made to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented did not correspond with what it deserved ; the arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws ; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief that, by a more formal concert, their operation might

be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had hitherto been pursued was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshal against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at *his* person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process on the west side of the Allegany Mountain ; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed by fire his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government ; it being avowed that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector, to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me that, “ in the counties of Washington and Allegany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United

States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without control; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen, to publish the dishonour of such excesses, to encounter the expense and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to re-

present, however, that, without submission, coercion *must* be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of the executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted, all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults did not subscribe the mild form which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive to recommend or warrant a further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain, with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the ease of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put in motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood.

Quotas had been assigned to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, the governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion an opinion which justified a requisition to the other States.

As commander-in-chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion that the laws were secure from obstruction ; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example ; that the friends of peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive, and I trust ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent, I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done ; it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden ; but, every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable that, in a commo-

tion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside, the stationing of a small force for a certain period in the four western counties of Pennsylvania will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the inspector of the revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example that he who incurs a loss in its defence shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity of any part, of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any por-

tion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty ; that they feel their inseparable union ; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers ; preeminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution ; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens, let praise be given ; but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it, too, for the sake of those who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse cannot always appease a civil

convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement which I took when I entered into office "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States," on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expense and waste, which are not the least of the defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt of its success.

The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope that the present session will not pass without carrying to its full energy the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

As auxiliary to the state of our defence, to which Congress can never too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire whether the fortifications, which have been already licensed by law, be commensurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of General Wayne is a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made must have damped

the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States ; and yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks in particular are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the general government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement meditated at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended, and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconception into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations the plan, which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits, by the fixing and conducting of trading-houses upon the principles then expressed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—The time which has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open a way for a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt. It is believed that the result is such as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing would be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit cannot be benefited by procrastination ; and, as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumu-

lation of debt which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,—The mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals, and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to Congress ; however, it may not be unseasonable to announce that my policy in our foreign transactions has been to cultivate peace with all the world ; to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith ; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality ; to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation ; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States ; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution ; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight ; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which his goodness has already conferred ;

and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — Among the occasions which have been afforded for expressing my sense of the zealous and steadfast co-operation of the Senate in the maintenance of government, none has yet occurred more forcibly demanding my unqualified acknowledgments than the present.

Next to the consciousness of upright intentions, it is the highest pleasure to be approved by the enlightened representatives of a free nation. With the satisfaction, therefore, which arises from an unalterable attachment to public order, do I learn that the Senate discountenances those proceedings which would arrogate the direction of our affairs without any degree of authority derived from the people.

It has been more than once the lot of our government to be thrown into new and delicate situations, and of these the insurrection has not been the least important. Having been compelled, at length, to lay aside my repugnance to resort to arms, I derive much happiness from being confirmed by your judgment in the necessity of decisive measures, and from the support of my fellow-citizens of the militia, who were the patriotic instruments of that necessity.

With such demonstrations of affection for our constitution ; with an adequate organization of the militia ; with the establishment of necessary fortifications ; with a continuance of those judicious and spirited ex-

ertions which brought victory to our western army ; with a due attention to public credit, and an unsullied honour towards all nations ; we may meet, under every assurance of success, our enemies from within and from without.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — I anticipated with confidence the concurrence of the House of Representatives in the regret produced by the insurrection. Every effort ought to be used to discountenance what has contributed to foment it, and thus discourage a repetition of like attempts. For, notwithstanding the consolations which may be drawn from the issue of this event, it is far better that the artful approaches on such a situation of things should be checked by the vigilant and duly admonished patriotism of our fellow-citizens, than that the evil should increase until it becomes necessary to crush it by the strength of their arm.

I am happy that the part which I have myself borne on this occasion receives the approbation of your House. For the discharge of a constitutional duty, it is a sufficient reward to me to be assured that you will unite in consummating what remains to be done.

I feel also great satisfaction in learning that the other subjects which I have communicated or recommended will meet with due attention ; that you are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia ; and that the advance and success of the army under the command of General Wayne is regarded by you no less than myself as a

proof of the perseverance, prowess, and superiority, of our troops.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 8TH, 1795.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — I trust I do not deceive myself while I indulge the persuasion that I have never met you at any period when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded provisionally with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. This object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the Senate for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontier, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them

into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken. But we have to lament that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks, which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger, which will be productive of further expense, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages, and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father the late Emperor, and consequently, the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing that the terms of a treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House

of Representatives, you, gentlemen, are all apprized that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain ; and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted ; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours, with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country.

Contemplating the internal situation as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe with their American dependencies have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous ; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection ; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay ; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings ; while even the

anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burthens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government ; our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity — a tranquillity the more satisfactory because maintained at the expense of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, prosper beyond former example ; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement ; and with burthens so light as scarcely to be perceived, with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies, with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws, is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled ?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve, our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare that the part of our country which

was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to ; and to extend forgiveness to those who had been adjudged to capital punishment. For though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity, and safety, may permit.

Gentlemen, — Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change, the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations that the questions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally adjusted ; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated ; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so

much moment, in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations,—namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity ; and it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity ; and an enormous expense, to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them they urge it with solicitude,) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tran-

quillity permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.—The state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper department, together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt accords as much with the true interest of our country as with the general sense of our constituents.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — The statements which will be laid before you relative to the mint will shew the situation of that institution, and the necessity of some further legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses, which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates and in building them, the state of the fortifications of our harbours, the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replen-

ishing our magazines with military stores, and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare, of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — With real pleasure I receive your address, recognising the prosperous situation of our public affairs, and giving assurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legislative consideration, and that, with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will cheerfully co-operate in every measure which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the same.

But I derive peculiar satisfaction from your concurrence with me in the expressions of gratitude to Almighty God, which a review of the auspicious circumstances that distinguish our happy country have excited ; and I trust that the sincerity of our acknowledgments will be evinced by a union of efforts to establish and preserve peace, freedom, and prosperity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — Coming as you do from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the

concurrence of your testimony in the justness of the interesting summary of our national happiness, which, as the result of my inquiries, I presented to your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the Source of those numerous blessings, the Author of all good, are pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavours, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration that to my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these benefits. So far as my services contribute to the happiness of my country, the acknowledgment thereof by my fellow-citizens and their affectionate attachment will ever prove an abundant reward.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 7TH, 1796.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives, — In recurring to the internal situation of our country, since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to insure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested

and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on the one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals who cannot be restrained by their tribes ; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty ; to draw them nearer to the civilized state ; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice, of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Colerain, in the State of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that State, broke up without its being accomplished, the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale. The occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm, by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States, and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading-houses and military posts within their boundary, by means of which their friendship and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period, during the late session, at which the appropriation was passed for carrying into effect the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon, however, as the governor-general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain to determine which is the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, Esquire, of New York, for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrews, in Passamaquoddy Bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute ; but, deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned, to meet at Boston in August, 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnations of vessels and other property, met the commissioners of his Britannic Majesty in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, Esquire, was chosen by lot for the fifth commissioner. In October following, the board were to proceed to business. As yet, there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States and his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida should meet at the Natchez, before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez on the 25th day of April ; and the troops of his Catholic Majesty occupying any posts within the limits of the United States were within the same period to be withdrawn. The commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey for the Natchez in September, and troops

were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his Catholic Majesty for running the boundary line ; but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of Congress passed in the last session for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained ; but those which have been communicated afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States in London, and will command his attention until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the Dey and Regency of Algiers will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success, but under great, though inevitable disadvantages in the pecuniary transactions occasioned by that war, which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation. Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with

regard to wars in which a state itself is a party. But, besides this, it is in our own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen ; and their means, in other respects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not, then, be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war ; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience, so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present ?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way

which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on public account are inexpedient ; but where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will for a great length of time obtain ; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war ; are not establishments for procuring them on public account, to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule ? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted ? If the necessary articles should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising form an ample compensation ? Establishments of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in time of peace, will in time of war easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government ; and may even, perhaps, be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large, so as to mitigate the privations from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are already, or likely soon to be, established in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse ; and to what object can it

be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common centre the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shewn that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of Congress the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is that our country, much to its honour, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners, of our countrymen, by the common education of a

portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union ; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country ?

The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided. Besides that, war might often not depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting, by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated ; that it demands much previous study ; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government ; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed.

The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of characters for office is to be made, and will proportionably diminish the probability of a choice of men able as well as upright. Besides that, it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government virtually to exclude, from public trusts, talents, and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

While, in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority; and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understanding, with that Republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation that a spirit of justice, candour, and friend-

ship, on the part of the Republic, will eventually insure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude, of my countrymen.

I reserve for a special message a more particular communication on this interesting subject.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — I have directed an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year to be submitted from the proper department, with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to the latest period to which an account can be prepared.

It is with satisfaction I am able to inform you that the revenues of the United States continue in a state of progressive improvement.

A reinforcement of the existing provisions for discharging our public debt was mentioned in my address at the opening of the last session. Some preliminary steps were taken towards it, the maturing of which will no doubt engage your zealous attention during the present. I will only add that it will afford me heartfelt satisfaction to concur in such further measures as will ascertain to our country the prospect of a speedy extinguishment of the debt. Posterity may have cause to regret, if from any motive intervals of tranquillity are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, — My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment has been so often and so ardently expressed that I shall but

barely recall the subject to your view on the present occasion ; at the same time that I shall submit to your inquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced ; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States ; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved ; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

Gentlemen, — It affords me great satisfaction to find in your address a concurrence in sentiment with me on the various topics which I presented for your information and deliberation ; and that the latter will receive from you an attention proportioned to their respective importance.

For the notice you take of my public services, civil and military, and your kind wishes for my personal happiness, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Those services, and greater, had I possessed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country, and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement,

I saw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I relied on the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens to make the proper choice of a successor; men who would require no influential example to insure to the United States “an able, upright, and energetic administration.” To such men I shall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents to serve our common country; but, at the same time, I hope I may be indulged in expressing the consoling reflection (which consciousness suggests), and to bear it with me to my grave, that none can serve it with purer intentions than I have done, or with a more disinterested zeal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES.

Gentlemen, — To a citizen whose views were unambitious, who preferred the shade and tranquillity of private life to the splendour and solicitude of elevated stations, and whom the voice of duty and his country could alone have drawn from his chosen retreat, no reward for his public services can be so grateful as public approbation, accompanied by a consciousness that to render those services useful to that country has been his single aim; and when this approbation is expressed by the representatives of a free and enlightened nation, the reward will admit of no addition. Receive, gentlemen, my sincere and affectionate thanks for this signal testimony that my services have been acceptable and useful to my country. The strong confidence of my fellow-citizens, while it animated all my actions, insured their zealous co-operation which rendered those services successful.

The virtue and wisdom of my successors, joined with the patriotism and intelligence of the citizens who compose the other branches of government, I firmly trust, will lead them to the adoption of measures which, by the beneficence of Providence, will give stability to our system of government, add to its success, and secure to ourselves and to posterity that liberty which is to all of us so dear.

While I acknowledge with pleasure the sincere and uniform disposition of the House of Representatives to preserve our neutral relations inviolate, and with them deeply regret any degree of interruption of our good understanding with the French Republic, I beg you, gentlemen, to rest assured that my endeavours will be earnest and unceasing, by all honourable means, to preserve peace, and to restore that harmony and affection which have heretofore so happily subsisted between our two nations; and with you I cherish the pleasing hope that a mutual spirit of justice and moderation will crown those endeavours with success.

I shall cheerfully concur in the beneficial measures which your deliberations shall mature on the various subjects demanding your attention. And while directing your labours to advance the real interests of our country, you receive its blessings; with perfect sincerity, my individual wishes will be offered for your present and future felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATIONS.

PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

WHEREAS it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favour ; and whereas both Houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me “to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favours of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness ;”—

Now, therefore, I do recommend and assign Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of November next, to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be ; that we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks for his kind care and protection of the people of this country previous to their becoming a nation ; for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favourable interpositions of his providence, in the course and conclusion of the late war ; for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty,

which we have since enjoyed ; for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted ; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and, in general, for all the great and various favours which he has been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions ; to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually ; to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed ; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations (especially such as have shewn kindness to us), and to bless them with good governments, peace, and concord ; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us ; and generally to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand, at the City of New York, the third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

WHEN we review the calamities which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction. Our exemption hitherto from foreign war, an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption, the great degree of internal tranquillity we have enjoyed, the recent confirmation of that tranquillity by the suppression of an insurrection which so wantonly threatened it, the happy course of our public affairs in general, the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens, are circumstances which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine beneficence towards us. In such a state of things it is in an especial manner our duty as a people, with devout reverence and affectionate gratitude, to acknowledge our many and great obligations to Almighty God, and to implore him to continue and confirm the blessings we experience.

Deeply penetrated with this sentiment, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do recommend to all religious societies and denominations, and to all persons whomsoever within the United States, to set apart and observe Thursday, the 19th day of February next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, and on that day to meet together and render their sincere and hearty thanks to the Great Ruler of Nations for the manifold and signal mercies which distinguish our lot as a nation ; particularly for the possession of constitutions of government which unite, and by their union establish, liberty with order ; for the preservation of our peace, foreign and domestic ; for the seasonable control which has been given to a spirit of disorder in the suppression of the late insur-

rection ; and generally for the prosperous course of our affairs, public and private ; and at the same time humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of those blessings graciously to prolong them to us ; to imprint on our hearts a deep and solemn sense of our obligations to him for them ; to teach us rightly to estimate their immense value ; to preserve us from the arrogance of prosperity, and from hazarding the advantages we enjoy by delusive pursuits ; to dispose us to merit the continuance of his favours by not abusing them, by our gratitude for them, and by a correspondent conduct as citizens and as men ; to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries ; to extend among us true and useful knowledge ; to diffuse and establish habits of sobriety, order, morality, and piety ; and finally, to impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A D D R E S S E S.

TO THE MAYOR, CORPORATION, AND CITIZENS
OF ALEXANDRIA.*

April 16th, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,—Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States.

The unanimity of the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as of America, the apparent wish of those who were not altogether satisfied with the constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance.

Those who have known me best, (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number,) know better than any others, that my love of retirement is so great that no earthly consideration short of a conviction of duty could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution *never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature*; for at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself from embarking

* It will be observed, that all the following Addresses are *Answers* to such as were presented to him by various public bodies.

again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenour of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

In the meantime, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being who, as on a former occasion, has happily brought us together after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heartfelt felicity. But words, my fellow-citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must, then, be left to more impressive silence; while from an aching heart I bid you all, my affectionate friends and kind neighbours, farewell!*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* The inhabitants of Alexandria were his neighbours and personal friends, who, in their Address to him, had expressed themselves with much warmth of feeling and attachment.

"Again," said they, "your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too at a period of life when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

"Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour

TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE
UNITED BAPTIST CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA.[*Extract.*]

May, 1789.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the constitution framed in the convention where I had the honour to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember, that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.

which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrages of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; not to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct; do your neighbours and friends now address you. Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potomac, (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitting exertions, brought into partial use,) its institutor and promoter.

“Farewell! Go, and make a grateful people happy—a people, who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

“To that Being who maketh and unmaketh at his will we commend you; and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again the best of men and the most beloved fellow-citizen!”

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE STATE
OF NORTH CAROLINA.[*Extract.*]

June 15th, 1789.

A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to freemen as a fault, since it is to be presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country. If the mind is so formed in different persons as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences as it happens to be placed in different points of view, and if the oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen have often differed in judgment as to the best forms of government, we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice that so much has been effected, than to regret that more could not all at once be accomplished.

TO THE BISHOPS, CLERGY, AND LAITY OF THE PRO-
TESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE STATES OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE,
MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, AND NORTH CAROLINA, IN GENERAL CONVENTION
ASSEMBLED.

[*Extract.*]

August 19th, 1789.

On this occasion it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection, which appears to increase every day, among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

I receive with the greater satisfaction your congratulations on the establishment of the new constitution of government, because I believe its mild yet efficient operations will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends ; and because the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom, of the present federal legislature seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues, the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad and of our substantial happiness at home.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREEMEN OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[*Extract.*]

September, 1789.

The virtue, moderation, and patriotism, which marked the steps of the American people in framing, adopting, and thus far carrying into effect our present system of government, have excited the admiration of nations ; and it only now remains for us to act up to those principles which should characterize a free and enlightened people, that we may gain respect abroad, and insure happiness to ourselves and our posterity.

It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear in mind that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity, but that its influence may be co-extensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn. To establish this desirable end, and to esta-

blish the government of laws, the UNION of these States is absolutely necessary; therefore, in every proceeding, this great, this important object should ever be kept in view; and so long as our measures tend to this, and are marked with the wisdom of a well-informed and enlightened people, we may reasonably hope, under the smiles of Heaven, to convince the world that the happiness of nations can be accomplished by pacific revolutions in their political systems, without the destructive intervention of the sword.

TO THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS,

AT THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE,
AND THE WESTERN PART OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

October, 1789.

Gentlemen,—I receive with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration and for my personal happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect that the present national government, which by the favour of Divine Providence was formed by the common counsels and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them. To render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States,

of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or modes of faith which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATION OF THE
CITY OF SAVANNAH.

[*Extract.*]

May, 1790.

I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States of America have, in many instances,

exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther, if, gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace which, under the favour of Heaven, have been obtained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity and charity towards their fellow-creatures.

May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, and planted them in the promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven, and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

May, 1790.

Fellow-Citizens,—The congratulatory address of the people of the State of South Carolina, on my election to the office of President of the United States, expressed in such forcible and endearing terms, affects me with the liveliest emotions of satisfaction, and induces me to request their acceptance of my sincerest acknowledgments.

Flattering as it may be to find the extraordinary unanimity of the people of the United States in placing me at the head of their federal republic, I am still more pleased with the recollection of the manly

conduct on their part, which, in the issue of an arduous struggle, put them into a condition to enjoy the blessings of a free government. It was owing to their steady and strenuous support, with the smiles of a gracious Providence, that I did not sink under the oppression I felt from a diffidence in my abilities to conduct their military operations. It was a distressing consideration that so good a cause might be endangered by a single false step on the part of their general; but in such a cause, although surrounded with difficulties and dangers on every side, and in the midst of dark and gloomy prospects, it would have argued the most infamous pusillanimity to despair of the commonwealth. Seconded by such a body of yeomanry as repaired to the standard of liberty, fighting in their own native land, fighting for all that freemen hold dear, and whose docility soon supplied the place of discipline, it was scarcely in human nature, under its worst character, to abandon them in their misfortunes; nor is it for me to claim any singular title to merit for having shared in a common danger, and triumphed with them, after a series of the severest toil and most accumulated distress, over a formidable foe.

The value of liberty was thus enhanced in our estimation by the difficulty of its attainment, and the worth of characters appreciated by the trial of adversity. The tempest of war having at length been succeeded by the sunshine of peace, our citizen-soldiers impressed a useful lesson of patriotism on mankind, by nobly returning, with impaired constitutions and unsatisfied claims, after such long sufferings and severe disappointments, to their former occupations. Posterity, as well as the present age, will

doubtless regard with admiration and gratitude the patience, perseverance, and valour, which achieved our revolution. They will cherish the remembrance of virtues which had but few parallels in former times, and which will add new lustre to the most splendid page of history.

If there be for me any peculiarly just subject of exultation,—and with an honest pride I avow the fact,—it is, in being the citizen of a country whose inhabitants were so enlightened and disinterested as to sacrifice local prejudices and temporary systems for the sake of rendering secure and permanent that independence which had been the price of so much treasure and blood. Animated with the hope of transmitting to posterity the spirit of a free constitution in its native purity, they have, since the conclusion of the war, evinced the rectitude of their principles, as well as proved themselves by their practice worthy of their successes. * * * *

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW CHURCH
IN BALTIMORE.

[*Extract.*]

January, 1793.

We have abundant reason to rejoice that in this land the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining

and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF ALEXANDRIA.

July 4th, 1793.

Gentlemen, — Deeply impressed with the important advantages which the United States will experience by remaining in peace during the present contest among the powers of Europe, it is with the highest satisfaction that I receive this manifestation of your wishes for the preservation of that invaluable blessing, and the approbation which you express of the measures which have been taken to secure a continuance of our present happy situation. To complete the American character, it remains for the citizens of the United States to shew to the world, that the reproach heretofore cast on republican governments for their want of stability is without foundation, when that government is the deliberate choice of an enlightened people. And I am fully persuaded, that every well-wisher to the happiness and prosperity of this country will evince by his conduct that we live under a government of laws, and that, while we preserve inviolate our national faith, we are desirous to live in amity with all mankind.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CLERGY OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS RESIDING IN & NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

[*Extract.*]

March, 1797.

Believing, as I do, that religion and morality are the essential pillars of civil society, I view, with un-

speaking pleasure, that harmony and brotherly love which characterizes the clergy of different denominations as well in this as in other parts of the United States, exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our country and the surest basis of universal harmony.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

September 17th, 1796.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS, — The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared

to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honours it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead,—amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence ; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual ; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained ; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and im-

movable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, bene-

fitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated ; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength, of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations ; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries not tied together

by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty. In this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that

there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations ; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head ; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI ; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured ? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens ?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute ; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of govern-

ment better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent

and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be, to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions ; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country ; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion ; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little

else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the inte-

rest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments

in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us

with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends, with more or less force, to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must

be taxes ; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant ; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations ; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it ? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it ? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue ? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas ! is it rendered impossible by its vices ?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded ; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Anti-

pathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy; the government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearance of a virtuous

sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice ?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world ; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense ; but, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand ; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences ; consulting the natural course of things ; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing ; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate ; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another ; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character ; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish ; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But

if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22nd of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be in-

ferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever-favourite object of

my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*United States,
September 17th, 1796.*

* This Address is here printed from a copy of "Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser," for September 19th, 1796. On this paper are endorsed the following words in Washington's handwriting, which were designed as an instruction to the copyist who recorded the Address in the letter-book.

"The letter contained in this Gazette, addressed 'To the People of the United States,' is to be recorded, and in the order of its date. Let it have a blank page before and after it, so as to stand distinct. Let it be written with a letter larger and fuller than the common recording hand. And where words are printed with capital letters, it is to be done so in recording; and those other words that are printed in italics must be scored underneath, and straight, by a ruler."

EXTRACTS
FROM
ORDERLY BOOKS,
ETC.

[THE following extracts from Washington's Orderly-Books, &c., while commanding the troops of Virginia and the armies of the United States, will shew some of the difficulties with which he had to contend, as well as his unremitting exertions for the preservation of the morals of the men, and the inculcation of that high-toned spirit which ultimately achieved the independence of America.

Some of the orders for preserving discipline must be allowed to have been sufficiently rigid ; but it was mainly through the strict enforcement of such severe regulations (to which nothing short of the universal respect and veneration for the Commander-in-Chief could have induced submission) that so heterogeneous a mass of persons—collected from all parts of the continent, composed of every class and degree, engaged only for short terms of service, and looking upon themselves rather as independent fellow-citizens, serving of their own free choice, than as soldiers subjected to restraint—could have been rendered at all manageable or available. Indeed, the mastery over such incongruous and discordant spirits, and under the adverse circumstances in which he was placed, was the most singular triumph of all the great achievements of Washington ; and the unanimity and obe-

dience to him which afterwards prevailed in the army, and throughout the whole Union, the most astonishing circumstance of the American Revolution.—*Eng. Ed.*]

1756.

“Any commissioned officer who stands by and sees irregularities committed, and does not endeavour to quell them, shall be immediately put under arrest. Any non-commissioned officer who does not interpose, shall be immediately reduced, and receive corporal punishment.

“Any soldier who shall presume to quarrel or fight shall receive five hundred lashes, without the benefit of a court-martial. The offender, upon a complaint made, shall have strict justice done him. Any soldier found drunk shall receive one hundred lashes, without benefit of a court-martial.”

[To the major of his regiment he wrote on another occasion]—

“Your own good sense has sufficiently prompted you to study the nature of your duty, but at the same time permit me, as a duty incumbent on myself, to recommend in the strongest terms to you the necessity of qualifying yourself *by reading* for the discharge of the duty of major—a post which requires a thorough knowledge of the service, and on the due execution of which your own credit, as well as that of the regiment, greatly depends.”

“Colonel Washington has observed that the men of his regiment are very profane and reprobate. He takes this opportunity to inform them of his great displeasure at such practices, and assures them, that if they do not leave them off, they shall be severely

punished. The officers are desired, if they hear any man swear, or make use of an oath or execration, to order the offender twenty-five lashes immediately, without a court-martial. For the second offence he will be more severely punished."

[To a captain he also wrote about the same time]—

"Your suffering such clamours among the men argues very great remissness in you. I imagined your being put there over them was partly with an intent to keep them quiet and passive, but this express, sent purely to humour them, would indicate that you are afraid to do your duty. Let me tell you, in your own words, that 'I was very much surprised at the contents of your letter, written in such a commanding style.' And your demands were so express and peremptory, that the direction was the only thing which gave me the least reason to suspect it could be written to any but John Roe, or some other of your menial servants.

"I am sorry to find your conduct so disagreeable, to all the officers as to occasion two who were appointed to your company to resign. I must therefore desire you will act circumspectly, as I assure you, if I have any just complaints made against you, you may expect to answer them."

[This captain was much older in years than the commander-in-chief, and had probably taken some liberties on that ground.]

[Again, to another captain he wrote]—

"You are to acquaint Mr. L. that he is to remain at his fort, and act as lieutenant of the Rangers, until further orders. Tell him also not to stir from his post at his peril, until he has leave; if he does, I will

arrest him for his disobedience of orders, and try him as soon as he arrives here."

1775.

[The following curious order claims insertion for its singularity, and as marking a peculiar custom of the New England people of that day.]

November 5th.—"As the Commander-in-chief has been apprized of a design, formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture—at a time when we are soliciting, and have really obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause—the defence of the general liberty of America. At such a juncture, and in such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous, as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to express public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada."

[The following order is so remarkable in itself, and so honourable to the persons concerned, that it deserves to be perpetuated. Colonel Whitcomb had served in the former war, in which he had been in several engagements, and was a gentleman highly respected. He commanded one of the Massachusetts regiments, but on account of his advanced age, he was omitted in arranging the new army. The soldiers of his regiment were so much dissatisfied that they resolved

not to enlist under any other officer. He exhorted them not to be influenced by such a motive in a cause so important, and, to induce them to remain, he proposed to join them in the ranks.]

November 16th.—"Motives of economy rendering it indispensably necessary that many of the regiments should be reduced, and the whole put upon a different establishment, several deserving officers, not from any demerit, but pure necessity, have been excluded in the new arrangement of the army. Among these was Colonel Whitcomb; but the noble sentiments disclosed by that gentleman upon this occasion, the zeal he has shewn in exhorting the men not to abandon the interest of their country in this important crisis, and his determination to continue in the service, even as a private soldier, rather than by a bad example, when the enemy are gaining strength, to put the public affairs to hazard,—when an example of this kind is set, it not only entitles a gentleman to particular thanks, but to particular rewards. Colonel Jonathan Brewer is entitled to no small share of credit in readily giving up to Colonel Whitcomb the regiment which he was appointed to command. Colonel Whitcomb, therefore, is henceforward to be considered as Colonel of that regiment which was intended for Colonel Brewer; and Colonel Brewer will be appointed barrack master until something better worth his acceptance can be provided."

1776.

February 26th.—"All officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, are positively forbid playing at cards and other games of chance. At this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the

service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.

“ As the season is now fast approaching when every man must expect to be drawn into the field of action, it is highly important that he should prepare his mind, as well as everything necessary for it. It is a noble cause we are engaged in ; it is the cause of virtue and mankind ; every temporal advantage and comfort to us and our posterity depends upon the vigour of our exertions ; in short, freedom or slavery must be the result of our conduct ; there can, therefore, be no greater inducement to men to behave well. But it may not be amiss for the troops to know, that if any man in action shall presume to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without the orders of his commanding officer, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice ; cowards having too frequently disconcerted the best-formed troops by their dastardly behaviour.”

May 15th. — “ The Continental Congress having ordered Friday, the 17th instant, to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, humbly to supplicate the mercy of Almighty God that it would please him to pardon all our manifold sins and transgressions, and to prosper the arms of the United Colonies, and finally establish the peace and freedom of America upon a solid and lasting foundation, the General commands all officers and soldiers to pay strict obedience to the Continental Congress, that by their unfeigned and pious observance of their religious duties, they may incline the Lord and giver of victory to prosper our arms.”

June 27th. — “ The riotous behaviour of some soldiers of the Continental army yesterday and the evening before, has filled the General with much regret

and concern, and lays him under the disagreeable necessity of declaring that if the like behaviour should be practised again the authors will be brought to the severest punishment, if taken, or treated as a common enemy if they dare to resist. Men are not to carve out remedies for themselves. If they are injured in any respect there are legal modes to obtain relief, and just complaints will be always attended to and redressed. It should be the pride of a soldier to conduct himself in such a manner as to obtain the applause and not the reproach of a people he is sent to defend; and it should be the business, as it is the duty, of an officer to inculcate and enforce this doctrine."

July 9th.—"The honourable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a chaplain to each regiment, with the pay of thirty-three dollars and one-third per month, the colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure chaplains accordingly, persons of good character and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavour so to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

August 1st.—"It is with great concern that the General understands that jealousies have arisen among the troops from the different provinces; and reflections are frequently thrown out, which can only tend to irritate each other, and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart. The General most earnestly

intreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences ; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually than by making divisions among ourselves ; that the honour and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other ; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American. To make this name honourable, and to preserve the honour of our country, ought to be our only emulation ; and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station or from whatever part of the continent he may come. Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore, be lost in the generous contest who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humour to each other. If there be any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country as to continue in such practices after this order, the General assures them, and is authorized by Congress to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished, and dismissed from the service with disgrace.”

3rd.—“ That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General in future excuses them from fatigue duty on Sundays, except at the ship-yards, and on special occasions, until further orders. The General is sorry to be informed that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing—a vice heretofore little known in an American army, is growing into fashion ; he hopes the officers will, by example as well as influence, endeavour to check it ; and that both they and

the men will reflect that we can have little hope of the blessing of Heaven on our arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly ; added to this, it is a vice so mean and low, without any temptation, that every man of sense and character detests and despises it."

August 23rd.—"The enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army and the safety of our bleeding country will depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty ; that slavery will be your portion and that of your posterity if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage and spirit have been traduced by your cruel invaders ; though they have found, by dear experience, at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men, contending in their own land and in the best of causes, can do against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool, but determined ; do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers. It is the General's express orders that if any man attempt to skulk, lie down, or retreat without orders, he be instantly shot down as an example. He hopes no such will be found in this army ; but, on the contrary, that everyone for himself resolving to conquer or to die, and trusting in the smiles of Heaven upon so just a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution. Those who are distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct may depend upon being honourably noticed and suitably rewarded ; and if this army will but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, he has no doubt they will, by a glorious victory, save their country, and acquire to themselves immortal honour."

September 20th.—"The general hopes that soldiers

fighting in such a cause as ours will not be discouraged by any difficulties that may offer, and informs them that the grounds he now possesses are to be defended at all events. Any soldier or officer, therefore, who, upon the approach or attack of the enemy's forces by land or water, shall presume to turn his back and flee, shall be instantly shot down; and all good officers are hereby authorized and required to see this done, that the brave and gallant part of the army may not fall a sacrifice to the base and cowardly part, nor share their disgrace in a cowardly and unmanly retreat."

24th.—"The General does not admit of any pretence for plundering; whether it be Tory* property taken beyond the lines or not, it is equally a breach of orders, and to be punished in the officer who gives orders, or the soldier."

1777.

[In a circular from the Commander-in-chief to the brigadier-generals are the following instructions.]

May 26th.—"Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigade, and as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer's ruin. Games of exercise for amusement may not only be permitted but encouraged."

[The following are from the Orderly Book.]

October 7th.—"The situation of the army frequently not admitting of the regular performance of

* Those colonists who sided with the British were denominated Tories; the others, Whigs.

divine service on Sundays, the chaplains of the army are forthwith to meet together and agree on some method of performing it at other times, which method they will make known to the Commander-in-chief."

November 22nd.—"The Commander-in-chief offers a reward of ten dollars to any person who shall, by nine o'clock on Monday morning, produce the best substitute for shoes, made of raw hides. The commissary of hides is to furnish the hides, and the major-general of the day is to judge of the essays, and assign the reward to the best artist."

1781.

October 20th.—"Divine service is to be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-chief earnestly recommends that the troops not on duty should universally attend with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

RELATING TO

WASHINGTON.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND HABITS OF WASHINGTON.

SUCH persons as have attentively read these volumes may think any remarks on this subject superfluous. In certain quarters, nevertheless, there have been discussions tending to throw doubts over the religious belief of Washington ; whether from ignorance of his character and writings, or from causes less creditable, it is needless to inquire. A formal attempt to confute insinuations of this kind, would be allowing them a weight which they cannot claim till supported by positive testimony, or till it is shewn by at least a shadow of proof that they have any foundation other than conjecture and inference. This has never been done, and nothing is hazarded in saying that it never will be done. A few facts, and brief extracts from his papers, will be enough to place the subject before the reader in its proper light.

A hundred years have elapsed since the childhood of Washington ; and so little is known of his early life, from written materials, that we cannot speak with confidence respecting his first religious impressions. It has always been the prevalent tradition, however, in the neighbourhood of his birth-place, that he was educated under influences that could not fail to fix in his mind the principles of the Christian religion, and a sacred regard for the precepts it inculcates. This is in part confirmed by his manuscripts, containing

articles and extracts copied out by himself in his boyhood, which prove that his thoughts at that time had a religious tendency. One of these pieces, being a series of verses *On Christmas Day*, begins thus—

“ Assist me, Muse divine, to sing the morn,
On which the Saviour of mankind was born.”

A boy of thirteen would scarcely employ himself in transcribing pieces of this description, whose mind had not already received a decided bias from the instructions of pious parents or teachers.

It should be observed also, that in his first military campaigns he was careful to have religious service regularly performed in camp. Even in the midst of the active scenes at the Great Meadows this was the daily practice. During the French war, when the government of Virginia neglected to provide chaplains for the army, he remonstrated against such an impropriety, and urged his request till they were appointed. In the general orders he reproved and forbade the vicious habits and profane swearing of the soldiers.

After the French war, while in retirement at Mount Vernon, he took a lively interest in church affairs, regularly attending public worship, and being at different times a vestryman in two parishes. The House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, passed an order (May 24th, 1774,) in reference to the act of parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, that “ the 1st day of June should be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war.” On the day appointed, he writes in his diary, “ Went to church and *fasted all day*,” thus conforming, not only to the spirit,

but to the strict letter of the order. This diary was kept for many years with much particularity. A Sabbath day rarely occurs in which it is not recorded that he went to church. If there was an omission, it was caused by the weather, or badness of the roads, the nearest church, at Pohick, being seven miles from his residence. While attending the first Congress he adhered to the same practice.

During the revolution, and afterwards, his habits, and the importance he attached to the principles and observances of religion, may be understood from the extracts taken promiscuously from his Orderly Book, addresses, &c., in the present volume.

Examples of the same kind might be multiplied indefinitely. In those parts of faith and practical piety, therefore, which consist in a conviction of the all-pervading presence of the Supreme Being, habitual acknowledgment of his power and goodness, and humble and devout submission to the Divine will, from motives of the most serious and sacred import, it will not be easy to find, in any denomination of Christians, an individual more eminently distinguished than Washington.

How far these habits were prompted or confirmed by his particular belief in the Christian revelation, may be inferred from other passages in his writings, as well as from the whole tenour of his life, in regard to Christian worship and observances. To say that he was not a Christian, or at least that he did not believe himself to be a Christian, would be to impeach his sincerity and honesty. Of all men in the world, Washington was certainly the last whom any one would charge with dissimulation or indirectness; and if he was so scrupulous in avoiding even a shadow of these faults in every known act of his life, however unimportant, is it

likely, is it credible, that, in a matter of the highest and most serious importance, he should practise, through a long series of years, a deliberate deception upon his friends and the public? It is neither credible nor possible.

I shall here insert a letter on this subject, written to me by a lady who lived twenty years in Washington's family, and who was his adopted daughter, and the grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington. The testimony it affords, and the hints it contains respecting the domestic habits of Washington, are interesting and valuable.

“ Woodlawn, 26 February, 1833.

“ SIR, — I received your favour of the 20th instant last evening, and hasten to give you the information which you desire.

“ Truro parish is the one in which Mount Vernon, Pohick Church, and Woodlawn, are situated. Fairfax parish is now Alexandria. Before the Federal district was ceded to Congress, Alexandria was in Fairfax county. General Washington had a pew in Pohick Church, and one in Christ Church at Alexandria. He was very instrumental in establishing Pohick Church, and I believe subscribed largely. His pew was near the pulpit. I have a perfect recollection of being there, before his election to the presidency, with him and my grandmother. It was a beautiful church, and had a large, respectable, and wealthy congregation, who were regular attendants.

“ He attended the church at Alexandria, when the weather and roads permitted a ride of ten miles. In New York and Philadelphia he never omitted attendance at church in the morning, unless detained by indisposition. The afternoon was spent in his own room at home; the evening with his family, and with-

out company, Sometimes an old and intimate friend called to see us for an hour or two ; but visiting and visitors were prohibited for that day. No one in church attended to the services with more reverential respect. My grandmother, who was eminently pious, never deviated from her early habits. She always knelt. The General, as was then the custom, stood during the devotional parts of the service. On communion Sundays, he left the church with me, after the blessing, and returned home, and we sent the carriage back for my grandmother.

“ It was his custom to retire to his library at nine or ten o'clock, where he remained an hour before he went to his chamber. He always rose before the sun and remained in his library until called to breakfast. I never *witnessed* his private devotions. I never *inquired* about them. I should have thought it the greatest heresy to doubt his firm belief in Christianity. His life, his writings, prove that he was a Christian. He was not one of those who act or pray, ‘that they may be seen of men.’ He communed with God in secret.

“ My mother resided two years at Mount Vernon after her marriage with John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. I have heard her say, that General Washington always received the sacrament with my grandmother before the revolution. When my aunt, Miss Custis, died suddenly at Mount Vernon, before they could realize the event, he knelt by her and prayed most fervently, most affectingly, for her recovery. Of this I was assured by Judge Washington’s mother, and other witnesses.

“ He was a silent, thoughtful man. He spoke little generally ; never of himself. I never heard him relate a single act of his life during the war. I have often

seen him perfectly abstracted, his lips moving, but no sound was perceptible. I have sometimes made him laugh most heartily from sympathy with my joyous and extravagant spirits. I was probably one of the last persons on earth to whom he would have addressed serious conversation, particularly when he knew that I had the most perfect model of female excellence ever with me as my monitress, who acted the part of a tender and devoted parent, loving me as only a mother can love, and never extenuating or approving in me what she disapproved in others. She never omitted her private devotions or her public duties ; and she and her husband were so perfectly united and happy, that he must have been a Christian. She had no doubts, no fears for him. After forty years of devoted affection and uninterrupted happiness, she resigned him without a murmur into the arms of his Saviour and his God, with the assured hope of his eternal felicity. Is it necessary that any one should certify, ' General Washington avowed himself to *me* a believer in Christianity ?' As well may we question his patriotism, his heroic, disinterested devotion to his country. His mottos were, '*Deeds, not Words;*' and, '*For God and my Country.*'

“ With sentiments of esteem,

“ I am, &c.”

It seems proper to subjoin to this letter, what was told to me by Mr. Robert Lewis, at Fredericksburg, in the year 1827. Being a nephew of Washington, and his private secretary during the first part of his presidency, Mr. Lewis lived with him on terms of intimacy, and had the best opportunity for observing his habits. Mr. Lewis said he had accidentally witnessed his private devotions in his library both morn-

ing and evening ; that on those occasions he had seen him in a kneeling posture with a bible open before him, and that he believed such to have been his daily practice. Mr. Lewis is since dead, but he was a gentleman esteemed for his private worth and respectability. I relate the anecdote as he told it to me, understanding at the time that he was willing it should be made public on his authority. He added, that it was the President's custom to go to his library in the morning at four o'clock, and that, after his devotions, he usually spent his time till breakfast in writing letters.

The following letter from the venerable Bishop White was written to the Rev. B. C. C. Parker, then rector of Trinity Church in Lenox, Massachusetts, by whose permission it is here inserted :—

“ Philadelphia, 28th November, 1832.

“ DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 20th instant, and will furnish you with what information I possess on the subject of it.

“ The father of our country, as well during the revolutionary war as in his presidency, attended Divine service in Christ Church, in this city, except during one winter, when, being here for the taking of measures with Congress towards the opening of the next campaign, he rented a house near to St. Peter's Church, then in parochial union with Christ Church. During that season he attended regularly at St. Peter's. His behaviour was always serious and attentive ; but, as your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to the truth to declare, that I never saw him in the said attitude. During his presidency, our vestry provided him with a pew not ten yards in front of the desk. It was habitually occupied by himself,

by Mrs. Washington, who was regularly a communicant, and by his secretaries.

“Although I was often in company with this great man, and had the honour of dining often at his table, I never heard anything from him which could manifest his opinions on the subject of religion. I knew no man who so carefully guarded against the discoursing of himself, or of his acts, or of anything that pertained to him ; and it has occasionally occurred to me when in his company, that if a stranger to his person were present, he would never have known, from anything said by the President, that he was conscious of having distinguished himself in the eye of the world. His ordinary behaviour, although unexceptionably courteous, was not such as to encourage obtrusion on what he had on his mind.

“Within a few days of his leaving the presidential chair, our vestry waited on him with an address, prepared and delivered by me. In his answer, he was pleased to express himself gratified by what he had heard from our pulpit ; but there was nothing that committed him relatively to religious theory. Within a day or two of the above, there was another address, by many ministers of different persuasions, being prepared by Dr. Green, and delivered by me. It has been a subject of opposite statements, owing to a passage in the posthumous works of Mr. Jefferson. He says (giving Dr. Rush for his author, who is said to have it from Dr. Green), that the said address was intended to elicit the opinion of the President on the subject of the Christian religion. Dr. Green has denied this in his periodical work called ‘*The Christian Advocate*,’ and his statement is correct. Dr. Rush may have misunderstood Dr. Green, or the former may have been misunderstood by Mr. Jeffer-

son; or the whole may have originated with some individual of the assembled ministers, who mistook his own conceptions for the sense of the body. The said two documents are in the Philadelphia newspapers of the time.

“On a thanksgiving day, appointed by the President for the suppression of the Western insurrection, I preached in his presence. The subject was, the Connexion between Religion and Civil Happiness. It was misrepresented in one of our newspapers. This induced the publishing of the sermon, with a dedication to the President, pointedly pleading his proclamation in favour of the connexion affirmed. It did not appear that he disallowed the use made of his name. Although, in my estimation, entire separation between Christianity and civil government would be a relinquishment of religion in the abstract, yet, that this was the sentiment of the President, which may have been, I have no light positively to infer.

“There do not occur to me any other particulars meeting your inquiry, confined to my knowledge. Accordingly, I conclude with writing myself, very respectfully, your humble servant,

“WILLIAM WHITE.”

The circumstance of his withdrawing himself from the communion service at a certain period of his life has been remarked as singular. This may be admitted and regretted, both on account of his example and the value of his opinion as to the importance and practical tendency of this rite. It does not follow, however, that he was an unbeliever, unless the same charge is proved to rest against the numerous class of persons, who believe themselves to be sincere Christians, but who have scruples in regard to the ordinance

of the communion. Whatever his motives may have been, it does not appear that they were ever explained. Nor is it known, or to be presumed, that any occasion offered. It is probable that, after he took command of the army, finding his thoughts and attention necessarily engrossed by the business that devolved upon him, in which, frequently, little distinction could be observed between the Sabbath and other days, he may have believed it improper publicly to partake of an ordinance which, according to the ideas he entertained of it, imposed severe restrictions on outward conduct, and a sacred pledge to perform duties impracticable in his situation. Such an impression would be natural to a serious mind; and although it might be founded on erroneous views of the nature of the ordinance, it would not have the less weight with a man of a delicate conscience and habitual reverence for religion.

There is proof, however, that on one occasion at least during the war he partook of the communion; but this was at a season when the army was in camp, and the activity of business was in some degree suspended. An anecdote contained in Dr. Hosack's *Life of De Witt Clinton*, and related in the words of the Rev. Samuel H. Cox, who communicated it to the author, establishes this fact.

"I have the following anecdote," says Dr. Cox, "from unquestionable authority. It has never, I think, been given to the public; but I received it from a venerable clergyman, who had it from the lips of the Reverend Dr. Jones himself. To all Christians, and to all Americans, it cannot fail to be acceptable.

"While the American army under the command of Washington lay encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, it occurred that the service of the communion

(then observed semi-annually only) was to be administered in the Presbyterian church of that village. In a morning of the previous week, the General, after his accustomed inspection of the camp, visited the house of the Reverend Dr. Jones, then pastor of the church, and after the usual preliminaries, thus accosted him. 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday; I would learn if it accords with the canon of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?' The Doctor rejoined—'Most certainly; ours is not the Presbyterian table, General, but the Lord's table; and we hence give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatever name.' The General replied—'I am glad of it; that is as it ought to be; but, as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor reassured him of a cordial welcome, and the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath."

The situation in which Washington stood while President of the United States, made it necessary that he should use much circumspection in whatever came from him touching theological subjects. He received addresses from many Christian congregations, or societies, including nearly every denomination in the country, complimentary to his character, and expressing gratitude for his long and eminent public services. In his replies it would have been equally discourteous and impolitic to employ language indicating a decided preference for the peculiar tenets or forms of any particular church. He took a wiser course; the only one, indeed, which with propriety

could be taken. He approved the general objects, and commended the zeal, of all the religious congregations or societies by which he was addressed, spoke of their beneficial effects in promoting the welfare of mankind, declared his cordial wishes for their success, and often concluded with his prayers for the future happiness of the individuals belonging to them, both in this world and the world to come. All the answers of this kind breathe a Christian spirit, and they may justly be regarded as implying the author's acknowledgment of the truth and authority of the Christian religion.

After a long and minute examination of the writings of Washington, public and private, in print and in manuscript, I can affirm, that I have never seen a single hint, or expression, from which it could be inferred that he had any doubt of the Christian revelation, or that he thought with indifference or unconcern of that subject. On the contrary, whenever he approaches it, and indeed whenever he alludes in any manner to religion, it is done with seriousness and reverence.

The foregoing observations have been made, not by way of argument, but merely to connect together facts from Washington's writings and other sources; for I must end, as I began, by saying that I conceive any attempt at argument in so plain a case would be misapplied. If a man, who spoke, wrote, and acted as a Christian through a long life, who gave numerous proofs of his believing himself to be such, and who was never known to say, write, or do a thing contrary to his professions,—if such a man is not to be ranked among the believers of Christianity, it would be impossible to establish the point by any train of reasoning. How far he examined the grounds of his faith

is uncertain, but probably as far as the large portion of Christians, who do not make theology a special study ; and we have a right to presume, that a mind like his would not receive an opinion without a satisfactory reason. He was educated in the episcopal church, to which he always adhered ; and my conviction is, that he believed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as usually taught in that church according to his understanding of them ; but without a particle of intolerance, or disrespect for the faith and modes of worship adopted by Christians of other denominations.

WASHINGTON'S HABIT IN READING DESPATCHES AND OTHER IMPORTANT PAPERS.

It was the custom of General Washington to read with great care all despatches and other important papers which contained information that should influence his opinions or conduct. In many cases he read with a pen in his hand, and made brief summaries of such papers, or extracts from them, bringing out the prominent parts, and arranging them methodically, so that they might be the more deeply impressed on his mind. This was his habit, not only in public affairs, but in his private transactions, in the management of his farms, and every kind of business.

He thus gained two essential objects, a thorough knowledge of the grounds upon which he was to decide or act, and time to deliberate maturely upon every weighty point. To this habit may be ascribed, in no small degree, the accurate views he took of the facts brought under his notice, and the sound judgment with which he invariably adopted and pursued

his measures. He never decided precipitately, nor took a step till he was fully convinced that it was the best that could be taken.

After his inauguration as President, he commenced reading the official papers in the offices of the several departments, taking them up at the signing of the treaty of peace. He read the whole of them, making an abstract as he went along. In this way he became well acquainted with the proceedings of the government during that period. The reports of the heads of the departments he examined in the same manner; particularly the elaborate report of the Treasury board, drawn up by his direction, abounding in tables and columns of figures. This report he abridged, and apparently studied it in its minutest details.

During the presidency he adhered to the same method. Although he saw every important despatch before it was sent off, yet from time to time he perused the correspondence of the secretaries preserved in the archives of the offices, and drew out abstracts of their principal contents, many of which are still retained among his papers.

We may add, that in reading books Washington adopted the same practice of making abstracts, or abridgments, wherever the subject interested him, referring with minute accuracy to the volume and the page. Several specimens of this sort remain. Treatises on agriculture absorbed much of his attention, and sometimes he transcribed whole chapters. Du Pratz's *History of Louisiana* was subjected to a rigid process in this way, when the navigation of the Mississippi agitated the public mind. He began a copious analysis of the Abbé Raynal's *History of the Indies*, but whether he ever went beyond the first volume is uncertain.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The curiosity which has been expressed respecting the authorship of the Farewell Address would seem to require some notice of the subject in this work, although the question as to the manner in which that address originated is one of small moment, since its real importance consists in its being known to contain the sentiments of Washington, uttered on a solemn occasion, and designed for the benefit of his countrymen. Whether every idea embodied in it arose spontaneously from his own mind, or whether every word was first traced by his pen, or whether he acted as every wise man would naturally act under the same circumstances, and sought counsel from other sources claiming respect and confidence, or in what degree he pursued either or all of these methods, are points so unimportant, compared with the object and matter of the whole, as to be scarcely worth considering. Nor is it intended here to do anything more than to state a few facts, leaving the reader to draw his own inferences.

When Washington accepted the Presidency, to which he had been called by the unanimous voice of the people, it was not his intention to remain in the office more than one term. Towards the close of that term he wrote to Mr. Madison—whom he had been in the habit of frequently consulting, and of whose ability, integrity, and practical wisdom, he entertained the highest opinion—to prepare a paper announcing his intention, and gave him the heads of such portion of it as had occurred to him, which Mr. Madison accordingly remitted.

The state of public affairs, however, and the loud call of his fellow-citizens from every part of the Union,

prevailed on Washington to yield to a second choice, and remain in the Presidency another term of four years. Hence no use was made of Mr. Madison's paper. He firmly resolved, however, in any event, to retire from public life at the end of this second period ; and as the time approached he began to revolve in his mind an address to the people, which should communicate his determination, and convey to them such sentiments or advice as the occasion might properly call forth, or as his long experience and services authorized him to give. There is proof that the subject occupied his thoughts nearly a year before his term of office expired. In the meantime the spirit of party—that bane of the private affections as well as of public concord—caused him to be estranged, personally and politically, in some degree from Mr. Madison, and to seek other counsellors.

Among these, none possessed a higher place in his confidence than Hamilton ; of the talents, patriotism, honour, and honesty of none had he a more thorough conviction, and for none a more profound respect. A colossal pillar of his administration, Hamilton had stood by him in every hour of trial, equally firm and true in his friendship, and powerful in his support. To whom could Washington more safely apply for the fruits of a wise and disciplined mind ? From whom could he hope for better counsel, or a more sacred regard to so confidential a trust ?

The following note from Hamilton to Washington was probably the first written communication that passed between them on this subject.

“ *New York, May 10th, 1796.*—Sir, When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish that I should *re-dress* a certain paper which you had prepared. As it is important that a thing of this kind

should be done with great care and much at leisure, touched and retouched, I submit a wish that, as soon as you have given it the *body* you mean it to have, it may be sent to me."

This note is dated more than four months before the Farewell Address was published, and it appears that a draft of some sort had already been "prepared" by Washington. It also appears that Hamilton had been invited, and was well disposed, to lend his assistance in giving it completeness and finish.

What were the contents of the draft here alluded to, or whether it was the one afterwards sent to Hamilton, there are now no means of ascertaining. It is certain, however, that it was Washington's original idea to embody in the address the substance and the form of Mr. Madison's draft, and to make such additions as events and the change of circumstances seemed to require. A paper of this description has been preserved, in which is first inserted Mr. Madison's draft, and then a series of memoranda, or loose hints, evidently designed to be wrought into the address.

Whether these hints were sent to Hamilton, or to what extent they were previously enlarged and arranged, cannot now be told. They include, however, nearly all the *elements* of the principal points of the address as it was finally published. After the draft had been transmitted to Hamilton, he discouraged the idea of incorporating Mr. Madison's draft in its distinct form, on account of the apparent incongruity of the thing, and because he thought some of its sentiments not suited to the objects proposed in this last address. He accordingly sketched two plans, or drafts, one on the basis of an incorporation, the other on that of an original form, submitting it to the judgment of Washington to decide which was the preferable method.

He chose the latter. Several letters passed between them. Suggestions were made on both sides, some of which were approved and adopted, others disapproved and rejected. The drafts were sent back and forth from the one to the other. The work was nearly four months in hand ; and was executed with a deliberation and solicitude which prove the deep sense that each entertained of its importance, and of the advantages to be derived from it to the country.

The copy from which the final draft was printed is now in existence. It was given by Washington himself to Mr. Claypoole, the printer. This manuscript, by the permission of Mr. Claypoole, I have examined, and it is wholly in the handwriting of Washington. It bears all the marks of a most rigid and laborious revision. It is thus described by Mr. Claypoole :—" The manuscript copy consists of thirty-two pages of quarto letter paper, sewed together as a book, and with many alterations ; as in some places whole paragraphs are erased and others substituted ; in others, many lines struck out ; in others, sentences and words erased and others interlined in their stead. The tenth, eleventh, and sixteenth pages are almost entirely expunged, saving only a few lines ; and one-half of the thirty-first page is also effaced."*

The above statement I believe to include all that is known with certainty on this subject. It proves that an original draft was sent by Washington to Hamilton ; that the latter bestowed great pains in correcting and improving it ; that during this process several communications passed between them ; and that the final draft was printed from a copy containing numerous alterations in the matter and style which were

* *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 257.

unquestionably made by Washington. The precise paragraphs, words, or thoughts, which originated with either, cannot now be known. If a draft could be found in the handwriting of Hamilton, nearly resembling the printed address, it would go but a short way in solving this question. Papers may or may not have been destroyed. It is impossible to prove either the one or the other; and till this can be done, it is equally impossible to decide what part was contributed by each of the writers. In a case of so confidential a nature, and in which his honour was so much concerned, it may be supposed that Hamilton would not preserve every communication he received. It could only be by a knowledge of the conversation between Washington and Hamilton before the first draft was sent to the latter, and by comparing *all* the papers that ever existed on the subject, that a positive conclusion could justly or safely be drawn.

My opinion is, that the address, in the shape it now bears, is much indebted for its language and style to the careful revision and skilful pen of Hamilton; that he suggested some of the topics, and amplified others; and that he undertook this task, not more as an act of friendship, than from a sincere desire that a paper of this kind should go before the public in a form which would give it great and lasting utility. But I do not think that his aid, however valuable, was such as to detract from the substantial merit of Washington, or to divest him of a fair claim to the authorship of the address.

If we chose to pursue the inquiry, and accumulate probabilities, the result would not be more satisfactory. Every one who peruses Washington's writings will be satisfied that there is not an idea or sentiment in the Farewell Address which may not be found

more or less extended in different parts of them ; nor after such a perusal, can any one doubt his ability to compose such a paper. As a mere literary performance, though excellent, it is neither extraordinary nor in any degree superior to many others known to be written by each of the parties. It would add little to the great reputation of Washington, or of Hamilton, if the one or the other could be proved to be its sole and unaided author. It derives its value, and is destined to immortality, chiefly from the circumstance of its containing wise, pure, and noble sentiments, sanctioned by the name of Washington at the moment when he was retiring from a long public career, in which he had been devoted to the service of his country with a disinterestedness, self-sacrifice, perseverance, and success, commanding the admiration and applause of mankind. Take away this name and this circumstance, and its powerful charm would be broken ; it would be called able and good, an honourable testimony of the ability and patriotism of the writer, without exciting eager curiosity as to its origin, or the precise manner in which it was produced.

It may not be amiss to state that it was a habit of Washington, in almost every important act of his life, to consult with those in whose judgment, good sense, and integrity, he confided. Modest in estimating himself, aware that no one mind possesses all wisdom or all knowledge, and ever bent on effecting the best ends by the best means, he sought truth from the sources in which he believed it most likely to be found. But it may be asserted with equal assurance that no man ever more implicitly followed his own judgment. It may be doubted if, in a single instance, great or small, he adopted a measure because it was recommended by another, unless it clearly approved

itself to his own mind as the best. He might yield to the opinion of others in being diverted from a course which he was at first inclined to pursue, but in decision and action he relied on himself alone. Hence the marvellous consistency that ran through his whole life, and the no less marvellous train of successes which attended it.

Whoever attempts to settle the authorship of a paper intended for the public from the handwriting in which the manuscript appears will often find himself deceived. I have before me a copy of the Address to the King, by the first Continental Congress, in the hand-writing of Washington. Some future antiquarian may light upon this paper, and come out with the discovery that Washington was its author, and thus claim for him the laurels which the world has consented to place on the brow of John Dickinson. There is a copy of the first draft of the constitution, printed for the use of the members of the convention, in which are numerous interlineations, corrections, and marginal additions, embracing some of the most important features and articles of that instrument, all written by the pen of Washington. By the rule of inferring authorship from handwriting, it would follow that he was the author of some of the most essential parts of the constitution, whereas, the probability is, that he did no more than write them in his copy as they came up and were adopted by the convention. For its present style and arrangement, the constitution is indebted to the pen of Gouverneur Morris ; yet no one ever allowed him any other merit for this performance than that of skill and talent in composition. In short, if authorship includes the substance as well as form, it is seldom that any individual can be called the sole author of a public paper.

Frequently the subject is discussed beforehand in a public body ; sometimes by a committee ; and the writer is supplied with the ideas of several minds fully expressed and weighed before he begins his task. And even if these aids are not at command, it can rarely happen that any man will have so little regard for his reputation, or the cause he aims to promote, as to bring a production of this nature before the world without previously fortifying himself with the opinions and judgment of good counsellors.

WASHINGTON'S APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

The following is an exact transcript of General Washington's commission, taken from the original, now deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. It varies in some minor particulars from the one reported by the Committee, and published in the Journals of the Old Congress :—

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S COMMISSION.

“ *In Congress.* We the Delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,

“ To George Washington, Esquire.

“ We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and

of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

“ And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

“ And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers are duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessities.

“ And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war (as herewith given you), and punctually to observe and follow such directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the said United Colonies, or a Committee of Congress for that purpose appointed.

“ This commission to continue in force till revoked by this or a future Congress.

“ By order of Congress.

“ JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

“ Dated, Philadelphia, June 19th, 1775.

“ Attest, Charles Thomson, Secretary.”

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS.

“ This Congress having appointed you to be General and Commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, of all the forces raised or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their

service and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof, you are to repair with all expedition to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; and take charge of the army of the United Colonies. For your better direction—

“ 1. You are to make a return to us as soon as possible of all forces which you shall have under your command, together with their military stores and provisions; and also as exact an account as you can obtain of the forces which compose the British army in America.

“ 2. You are not to disband any of the men you find raised until further direction from this Congress; and if you shall think their numbers not adequate to the purpose of security, you may recruit them to a number you shall think sufficient, not exceeding double that of the enemy.

“ 3. In all cases of vacancy occasioned by the death or removal of a colonel or other inferior officer, you are by brevet, or warrant under your seal, to appoint another person to fill up such vacancy, until it shall otherwise be ordered by the Provincial Convention, or the Assembly of the colony from whence are the troops in which such vacancy happens, shall direct otherwise.

“ 4. You are to victual, at the Continental expense, all such volunteers as have joined or shall join the united army.

“ 5. You shall take every method in your power, consistent with prudence, to destroy or make prisoners of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear in arms against the good people of the United Colonies.

“ 6. And whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies so be-

forehand given, but that many things must be left to your prudent and discreet management as occurrences may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out, you are therefore, upon all such accidents, or any occasions that may happen, to use your best circumspection, and, advising with your council of war, to order and dispose of the said army under your command as may be most advantageous for the obtaining of the end for which these forces have been raised, making it your especial care, in discharge of the great trust committed unto you, that the liberties of America receive no detriment.”

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE ARMY
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Rocky Hill, near Princetown, 2nd Nov. 1783.

The United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country for their long, eminent, and faithful services, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th day of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furloughs to retire from service, from and after to-morrow; which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the Commander-in-chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be), and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the Commander-in-chief takes his final

leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past. He will then take the liberty of exploring with his military friends their future prospects, of advising the general line of conduct which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued ; and he will conclude the address by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part under which the war was undertaken can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving ; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning nor within the compass of this address to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season ; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness,—

events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men, who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty almost exceed the power of description. And shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens and the fruits of their labour? In such a country so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the pay-

ment of its just debts ; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to affect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops that, with strong attachments to the Union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions, and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit ; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invectives, nor any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause. Let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence ; and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance, and enterprise, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much, of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them when they are mingled with the great body of the commu-

nity. And although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the Union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice, of the nation would be lost for ever, yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours to those of his worthy fellow-citizens towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander-in-chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldiers to change the military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenour of behaviour which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences ; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted ; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution ; to the staff, for their alacrity and exact-

ness in performing the duties of their several departments ; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To the various branches of the army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power ; that he were really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him has been done.

And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes and this benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION AS
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

A committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. M'Henry, was appointed by Congress to make suitable arrangements for the last public audience of General Washington. In conformity with

their report it was resolved, on the 22nd of December, that the ceremony should be conducted as follows :—

“ 1. The President and members are to be seated and covered, and the Secretary to be standing by the side of the President.

“ 2. The arrival of the General is to be announced by the messenger to the Secretary, who is thereupon to introduce the General, attended by his aids, into the Hall of Congress.

“ 3. The General, being conducted to a chair by the Secretary, is to be seated, with an aid on each side, standing, and the Secretary is to resume his place.

“ 4. After a proper time for the arrangement of spectators, silence is to be ordered by the Secretary, if necessary, and the President is to address the General in the following words :—‘ Sir, the United States in Congress assembled are prepared to receive your communications.’ Whereupon the General is to arise and address Congress ; after which he is to deliver his commission and a copy of his address to the President.

“ 5. The General having resumed his place, the President is to deliver the answer of Congress, which the General is to receive standing.

“ 6. The President having finished, the Secretary is to deliver the General a copy of the answer, and the General is then to take his leave. When the General rises to make his address, and also when he retires, he is to bow to Congress, which they are to return by uncovering without bowing.”

According to this order, General Washington was introduced to Congress, and pronounced his address. He then advanced and delivered to the President his commission and a copy of his address, and having resumed his place, the President replied.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS.

Annapolis, 23 December, 1783.

“ Mr. President,—The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“ Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations ; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in service to the present moment as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action ; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

“ Sir,—The United States in Congress assembled receive with emotions too affecting for utterance the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence ; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“ Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire

from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command ; it will continue to animate remotest ages.

“ We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“ We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care, that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S EXPENSES WHILE ACTING AS
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES.

According to his declaration when he accepted his commission, General Washington never received any pecuniary compensation for his services. He kept exact accounts of all his expenditures ; and after the cessation of hostilities, he drew up with his own hand a detailed statement of these accounts, extending to more than sixty folio pages. This statement, with the original vouchers, was deposited in the treasury department, where it is still preserved. A *fac-simile* of the whole paper has been published ; and it affords a memorable proof of the strict regard which he paid to the public interest in the minutest particulars. The

following abstract and remarks are taken from the original, dated July 1st, 1783, as exhibited in his own hand-writing, and expressed in lawful money, or the old currency of Massachusetts and Virginia.

Household expenses, exclusive of the provisions had from the commissaries and contractors, and liquors, &c.			
from them and others - - - - -	£3387	14	4
Expended for secret intelligence - - - - -	1982	10	0
Expended in reconnoitring and travelling - - - - -	1874	8	8
Miscellaneous charges - - - - -	2952	10	1
One hundred and sixty thousand and seventy-four dollars extended in lawful money, according to the scale of depreciation - - - - -	6114	14	0
<hr/>			
Expenditures of eight years - - - - -	£16,311	17	1
Mrs. Washington's travelling expenses in coming to, and returning, from his winter-quarters, the money to defray which being taken from his private purse, and brought with her from Virginia - - - - -	1064	1	0
Expenditure from July 1st to the time of resigning his commission - - - - -	1930	13	8
<hr/>			
Total, Virginia currency - - - - -	£19,306	11	9
Or sterling - - - - -	£14,479	18	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Or dollars, at 4s. 6d. sterling each - -	\$64,355.30		

In addition to this amount, he charged to the government 288*l.*, lawful money, as the interest on 599*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, which was the balance due to him on the 31st of December, 1776, the amount having been applied from his private funds for public objects during the preceding year. On this item and the one respecting Mrs. Washington's travelling expenses, he made the following remarks at the foot of the account :—

“ Although I kept memoranda of these expenditures, I did not introduce them into my public accounts as they occurred. The reason was, it appeared at first view in the commencement of them to have the complexion of a private charge. I had my doubts

therefore of the propriety of making it. But as the peculiar circumstances attending my command, and the embarrassed situation of our public affairs, obliged me (to the no small detriment of my private interest) to postpone the visit I every year contemplated to make my family between the close of one campaign and the opening of another ; and as this expense was incidental thereto, and consequent of my self-denial, I have, as of right I think I ought, with due consideration, adjudged the charge as just with respect to the public as it is convenient with respect to myself.

“And I make it with the less reluctance, as I find upon the final adjustment of these accounts (which have, as will appear, been long unsettled) that I am a considerable loser, my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts and the money I had upon hand of my own. For, besides the sum I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775, and which exceeded the afore-mentioned balance of 599*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, I received moneys afterwards on private account in 1777 and since, which, except small sums that I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses, were all expended in the public service ; and which, through hurry, I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency), I have omitted to charge, whilst every debit against me is here credited.”

APPOINTMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

As it was known that the votes for President in the several States had been given for General Washington, he was of course prepared to proceed to New York, and meet Congress as soon as his appointment should

be officially notified. Although the 4th of March was the day assigned for the assembling of Congress, yet a quorum of the two houses was not formed till the 6th of April. On that day the votes of the electors were opened and counted in the presence of the two houses, and it appeared that George Washington was unanimously chosen President of the United States, and that John Adams was chosen Vice-President. The Senate, with the consent of the other house, appointed Charles Thomson to be the bearer of this intelligence to Mount Vernon.

In the execution of his mission, Mr. Thomson arrived at Mount Vernon on the 14th of April, 1789, at half-past twelve o'clock. He was accompanied by Dr. Craik and Mr. Hubert, of Alexandria.

General Washington having accepted the appointment, he set out for New York on the 16th of April, accompanied by Mr. Thomson and Colonel Humphreys. On his way to Alexandria he was met by several gentlemen belonging to that city, where an entertainment was provided for him, and where he received and answered a public address. During the whole route, the strongest demonstrations of joy and respect were manifested by the people. As he approached the several towns through which he passed, the most respectable citizens came out to meet and welcome him ; he was escorted from place to place by bodies of militia ; and in the principal cities he was received with the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and military parade.*

* " At Trenton," says Chief-Justice Marshall, " he was welcomed in a manner as new as it was pleasing. In addition to the usual demonstrations of respect and attachment, which were given by the discharge of cannon, by military corps, and by private persons of distinction, the gentler sex prepared, in their own taste, a tribute of applause indicative of the grateful recollection in which they held their deliverance twelve years before from a formidable

A committee of Congress, consisting of three members from the Senate, and five from the house of Representatives, was appointed to meet the President at the place in his embarkation in New Jersey, and attend him to the city of New York.

enemy. On the bridge over the creek which passes through the town, was erected a triumphal arch, highly ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each entwined with wreaths of evergreen. On the front arch was inscribed, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

“ On the centre of the arch above the inscription was a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens, encircling the dates of two memorable events, which were peculiarly interesting to New Jersey. The first was the battle of Trenton, and the second the bold and judicious stand made by the American troops at the same creek, by which the progress of the British army was arrested, on the evening preceding the battle of Princeton.

“ At this place he was met by a party of matrons leading their daughters dressed in white, who carried baskets of flowers in their hands, and sang with exquisite sweetness an ode of two stanzas composed for the occasion.

“ WELCOME, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore ;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow ;
Aims at THEE the fatal blow.

“ Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for THEE triumphal bowers ;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers ;
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.”

The following communication was made to the ladies immediately afterwards in writing :—

“ General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments to the matrons and young ladies who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the triumphal arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensations he experienced in that affecting moment.

“ The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed choir* who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them, will never be effaced.”

They accordingly met him at Elizabeth Point. He was received by them in a barge, splendidly fitted up for the occasion, and rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniforms. This barge was accompanied by several others, in one of which were the members of the Treasury Board, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of War. These were followed by a long train of vessels and boats collected from New York and New Jersey. As the President's barge approached the city, a salute of thirteen guns was fired from vessels in the harbour and from the battery. At Murray's Wharf, where he landed at three o'clock, he was again saluted by a discharge of artillery, and was received by the governor and other officers of the State, and the Corporation of the city. Here commenced a procession, headed by a long military train under the command of General Malcolm, which was followed by the principal officers of the State and city, the clergy, the French and Spanish ministers, and a great concourse of citizens. The procession advanced to the house prepared for the reception of the President. He thence went privately to Governor Clinton's, where he dined. The city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

As soon as circumstances would admit, preparations were made for his meeting Congress and taking the oath of office, which was administered in the outer gallery, or balcony, of the Senate-chamber, as giving an opportunity for a larger number of persons to witness the ceremony. The following account is from a manuscript *Diary* kept by Mr. Lear, who was at that time the President's secretary :—

“ *April 30th.*—The morning was employed in making such arrangements as were necessary for the ceremonies of the day. At nine o'clock all the churches in the city were opened, and prayers offered

up to the Great Ruler of the universe for the preservation of the President. At twelve the troops of the city paraded before our door, and soon after the committees of Congress and heads of departments came in their carriages to wait upon the President to the Federal Hall. At half-past twelve the procession moved forward, the troops marching in front with all the ensigns of military parade. Next came the committees and heads of departments in their carriages. Next the President in the state coach, and Colonel Humphreys and myself in the President's own carriage. The foreign ministers and a long train of citizens brought up the rear.

“About two hundred yards before we reached the Hall, we descended from our carriages, and passed through the troops, who were drawn up on each side, into the Hall and Senate-chamber, where we found the Vice-President, the Senate, and House of Representatives assembled. They received the President in the most respectful manner, and the Vice-President conducted him to a spacious and elevated seat at the head of the room. A solemn silence prevailed. The Vice-President soon arose and informed the President that all things were prepared to administer the oath whenever he should see fit to proceed to the balcony and receive it. He immediately descended from his seat, and advanced through the middle door of the Hall to the balcony. The others passed through the doors on each side. The oath was administered in public by Chancellor Livingston; and the moment the chancellor proclaimed him President of the United States, the air was rent by repeated shouts and huzzas,—‘*God bless our Washington! Long live our beloved President!*’ We again returned into the Hall, where, being seated as before for a few

moments, the President arose and addressed the two branches of Congress in a speech which was heard with eager and marked attention.

“After the President had finished his speech, we proceeded from the Senate-chamber on foot to St. Paul’s church in the same order that we had observed in our carriages, where the bishop read prayers suited to the occasion. We were then met at the church door by our carriages, and we went home.

“In the evening there was a display of most beautiful fire-works and transparent paintings at the Battery. The President, Colonel Humphreys, and myself, went in the beginning of the evening in the carriages to Chancellor Livingston’s and General Knox’s, where we had a full view of the fire-works. We returned home at ten, on foot, the throng of people being so great as not to permit a carriage to pass through it.”

In his *Diary* on the 5th of May, Mr. Lear says—“This being a day for receiving company of ceremony, we had a numerous and splendid circle between the hours of two and three in the afternoon. A committee of the House of Representatives waited on the President with a copy of the address of their House, and a request to know when it would be agreeable to him to receive it.”

Mrs. Washington did not arrive in New York till the 27th of May. She was met by the President with his barge at Elizabeth Town Point, and by several other persons of distinction, who accompanied her to the city. She was saluted by a discharge of thirteen cannon, as the barge was passing the Battery. Crowds were assembled at the place of landing to welcome her, and she was escorted to her house with military parade.

THE WASHINGTON MEDAL ON THE EVACUATION
OF BOSTON.

When the Congress received intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, they resolved, "That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name and in the name of the thirteen United Colonies whom they represent, be presented to his Excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct at the siege and acquisition of Boston ; and that a medal be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency ; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks and a proper device for the medal." The committee were, John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins.

" TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

" Philadelphia, 2nd April, 1776.

" Sir,—It gives me the most sensible pleasure to convey to you, by order of Congress, the only tribute which a free people will ever consent to pay—the tribute of thanks and gratitude to their friends and benefactors. The disinterested and patriotic principles which led you to the field have also led you to glory ; and it affords no little consolation to your countrymen to reflect that, as a peculiar greatness of mind induced you to decline any compensation for serving them, except the pleasure of promoting their happiness, they may, without your permission, bestow upon you the largest share of their affections and esteem.

" Those pages in the annals of America will record your title to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame, which shall inform posterity that, under your direction, an undisciplined band of husbandmen in

the course of a few months became soldiers ; and that the desolation meditated against the country by a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced generals, but employed by bad men in the worst of causes, was, by the fortitude of your troops and the address of their officers, next to the kind interposition of Providence, confined for near a year within such narrow limits, as scarcely to admit more room than was necessary for the encampments and fortifications they lately abandoned. Accept, therefore, Sir, the thanks of the United Colonies, unanimously declared by their delegates to be due to you and the brave officers and troops under your command ; and be pleased to communicate to them this distinguished mark of the approbation of their country. The Congress have ordered a golden medal adapted to the occasion to be struck, and when finished, to be presented to you.

“ I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of esteem, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

“ JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*”

A private letter from Mr. Adams, written at the same time, will shew the lively interest and the agency which he took in the affair :—

“ SIR,—I congratulate you, as well as all the friends of mankind, on the reduction of Boston, an event which appeared to me of so great and decisive importance that, the next morning after the arrival of the news, I did myself the honour to move for the thanks of Congress to your Excellency, and that a medal of gold should be struck in commemoration of it. Congress have been pleased to appoint me, with two other gentlemen, to prepare a device. I should be very

happy to have your Excellency's sentiments concerning a proper one. I have the honour to be, with very great respect, Sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant,

“JOHN ADAMS.”

The medal, which was struck in Paris, contains on the obverse a head of Washington in profile, exhibiting an excellent likeness, and around it the inscription—

GEORGIO WASHINGTON SUPREMO DVCI EXERCITVVM
ADSSERTORI LIBERTATIS COMITIA AMERICANA.

On the reverse is the town of Boston in the distance, with a fleet in view under sail. Washington and his officers are on horseback in the foreground, and he is pointing to the ships as they depart from the harbour. The inscription is—

HOSTIBVS PRIMO FVGATIS BOSTONIVM RECVPERATVM
XVII MARTII MDCCLXXVI.

PRESENTATION OF A SWORD TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, BY A DUTCH MANUFACTURER.

When Mr. John Quincy Adams was at the Hague, as minister from the United States to Holland, he received the following letter from General Washington :—

“Philadelphia, 12th September, 1796.

“Dear Sir,—To open a correspondence with you on so trifling a subject as that which gives birth to this letter could hardly be justified, were it not for the singularity of the case. This singularity will, I hope, apologize for the act.

“Some time ago—perhaps two or three months—I read in some gazette, but was so little impressed

with it at the time (conceiving it to be one of those things which get into newspapers nobody knows how or why) that I cannot now recollect whether the gazette was of American or foreign production, announcing that a celebrated artist had presented, or was about to present, to the President of the United States a sword of masterly workmanship, as an evidence of his veneration, &c.

“ I thought no more of the matter afterwards, until a gentleman, with whom I have no acquaintance, coming from, and going to, I know not where, at a tavern I never could get information of, came across this sword (for I presume it to be the same), pawned for thirty dollars, which he paid, left it in Alexandria, nine miles from my house in Virginia, with a person who refunded him the money, and sent the sword to me.

“ This is all I have been able to learn of this curious affair. The blade is highly wrought, and decorated with many military emblems. It has my name engraved thereon, and the following inscription translated from the Dutch:—‘ *Condemner of Despotism, Preserver of Liberty, glorious Man, take from my Son’s hands this Sword, I beg you. A. GOLLINGEN.*’ The hilt is either gold or richly plated with that metal, and the whole carries with it the form of a horseman’s sword, or long sabre.

“ The matter, as far as it appears at present, is a perfect enigma. How it should have come into this country without a letter or an accompanying message, how afterwards it should have got into such loose hands, and whither the person having it in possession was steering his course, remain as yet to be explained. Some of these points probably can only be explained by the maker, and the maker is no otherwise to be

discovered than by the inscription and name, 'A. GOLLINGEN,' who, from the impression that dwells on my mind, is of Amsterdam.

"If, Sir, with this clue you can develop the history of this sword, the value of it, the character of the maker, and his probable object in sending it, you would oblige me; and by relating these facts to him, might obviate doubts which otherwise might be entertained by him of its fate or its reception.

"With great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c."

Mr. Adams, on inquiry, ascertained the particulars respecting the sword. Meanwhile, however, General Washington obtained the intelligence he sought, from a letter written to him by the manufacturer, whose name was Theophilus Alte, residing at Gollingen, near Dusseldorf.

It seems that, in the year 1795, a son of Mr. Alte had come to America, and his father sent by him a sword of curious workmanship, made at his own manufactory, and inscribed as related, directing him to present it to the President, as "the only man whom he knew of that had acted in a disinterested manner for the happiness of his country." The son arrived in Philadelphia, and not understanding the language, either through timidity or from some other cause not known, he did not call on the President with the sword, but sold it at a tavern, and went away without giving notice of the place at which he might be found. More than a year afterwards, the father wrote a letter to Washington, inquiring about him. The name on the sword was probably meant for Alte, of Gollingen.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

[Mr. Tobias Lear, a gentleman of education and talents, resided several years with Washington, first as his secretary, and afterwards as superintendent of his private affairs. He was present during Washington's last illness, and wrote down a narrative of the occurrences immediately after his death. The narrative is here printed as transcribed from Mr. Lear's original manuscript.]

“ *Mount Vernon, Saturday, December 14th, 1799.* — This day being marked by an event which will be memorable in the history of America, and perhaps of the world, I shall give a particular statement of it, to which I was an eye-witness.

On Thursday, December 12th, the General rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and did not return home till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad, rain, hail, snow, falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in, I carried some letters to him to frank, intending to send them to the post-office in the evening. He franked the letters, but said the weather was too bad to send a servant to the office that evening. I observed to him that I was afraid he had got wet. He said no, his great-coat had kept him dry. But his neck appeared to be wet, and the snow was hanging upon his hair. He came to dinner (which had been waiting for him) without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual.

A heavy fall of snow took place on Friday, which prevented the General from riding out as usual. He had taken cold, undoubtedly, from being so much exposed the day before, and complained of a sore throat.

He, however, went out in the afternoon into the ground between the house and the river to mark some trees, which were to be cut down in the improvement of that spot. He had a hoarseness, which increased in the evening ; but he made light of it.

In the evening the papers were brought from the post-office, and he sat in the parlour with Mrs. Washington and myself reading them, till about nine o'clock, when Mrs. Washington went up into Mrs. Lewis's room, who was confined, and left the General and myself reading the papers. He was very cheerful, and when he met with anything interesting or entertaining, he read it aloud as well as his hoarseness would permit. He requested me to read to him the Debates of the Virginia Assembly, on the election of a Senator and Governor ; and on hearing Mr. Madison's observations respecting Mr. Monroe, he appeared much affected, and spoke with some degree of asperity on the subject, which I endeavoured to moderate, as I always did on such occasions. On his retiring, I observed to him that he had better take something to remove his cold. He answered, ' No ; you know I never take anything for a cold. Let it go as it came.'

Between two and three o'clock on Saturday morning, he awoke Mrs. Washington, and told her that he was very unwell, and had had an ague. She observed that he could scarcely speak, and breathed with difficulty, and would have got up to call a servant. But he would not permit her, lest she should take a cold. As soon as the day appeared, the woman (Caroline) went into the room to make a fire, and Mrs. Washington sent her immediately to call me. I got up, put on my clothes as quickly as possible, and went to his chamber. Mrs. Washington was then up, and related to me his being ill as before stated. I found the

General breathing with difficulty, and hardly able to utter a word intelligibly. He desired Mr. Rawlins (one of the overseers) might be sent for to bleed him before the doctor could arrive. I dispatched a servant instantly for Rawlins, and another for Dr. Craik, and returned again to the General's chamber, where I found him in the same situation as I had left him.

A mixture of molasses, vinegar, and butter, was prepared, to try its effects in the throat; but he could not swallow a drop. Whenever he attempted it, he appeared to be distressed, convulsed, and almost suffocated. Rawlins came in soon after sunrise, and prepared to bleed him. When the arm was ready, the General, observing that Rawlins appeared to be agitated, said, as well as he could speak, 'Don't be afraid.' And when the incision was made, he observed, 'The orifice is not large enough.' However, the blood ran pretty freely. Mrs. Washington, not knowing whether bleeding was proper or not in the General's situation, begged that much might not be taken from him, lest it should be injurious, and desired me to stop it; but when I was about to untie the string, the General put up his hand to prevent it, and as soon as he could speak, he said, 'More, more.' Mrs. Washington being still very uneasy, lest too much blood should be taken, it was stopped after taking about half a pint. Finding that no relief was obtained from bleeding, and that nothing would go down the throat, I proposed bathing it externally with *sal volatile*, which was done, and in the operation, which was with the hand and in the gentlest manner, he observed, 'It is very sore.' A piece of flannel dipped in *sal volatile* was put around his neck, and his feet bathed in warm water, but without affording any relief.

In the meantime, before Dr. Craik arrived, Mrs.

Washington desired me to send for Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, whom Dr. Craik had recommended to be called, if any case should ever occur that was seriously alarming. I dispatched a messenger immediately for Dr. Brown, between eight and nine o'clock. Dr. Craik came in soon after, and upon examining the General, he put a blister of cantharides on the throat, took some more blood from him, and had a gargle of vinegar and sage tea prepared; and ordered some vinegar and hot water for him to inhale the steam of it, which he did; but in attempting to use the gargle, he was almost suffocated. When the gargle came from the throat, some phlegm followed, and he attempted to cough, which the doctor encouraged him to do as much as possible; but he could only attempt it. About eleven o'clock, Dr. Craik requested that Dr. Dick might be sent for, as he feared Dr. Brown would not come in time. A messenger was accordingly dispatched for him. About this time the General was bled again. No effect, however, was produced by it, and he remained in the same state, unable to swallow anything.

Dr. Dick came about three o'clock, and Dr. Brown arrived soon after. Upon Dr. Dick's seeing the General, and consulting a few minutes with Dr. Craik, he was bled again. The blood came very slow, was thick, and did not produce any symptoms of fainting. Dr. Brown came into the chamber soon after, and upon feeling the General's pulse, the physicians went out together. Dr. Craik returned soon after. The General could now swallow a little. Calomel and tartar emetic were administered, but without any effect.

About half-past four o'clock, he desired me to call Mrs. Washington to his bedside, when he requested

her to go down into his room, and take from his desk two wills which she would find there, and bring them to him, which she did. Upon looking at them, he gave her one, which he observed was useless, as being superseded by the other, and desired her to burn it, which she did, and took the other and put it into her closet.

After this was done, I returned to his bedside, and took his hand. He said to me—‘I find I am going. My breath cannot last long. I believed from the first that the disorder would prove fatal. Do you arrange and record all my late military letters and papers. Arrange my accounts and settle my books, as you know more about them than any one else, and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters, which he has begun.’ I told him this should be done. He then asked, if I recollected anything which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us. I told him that I could recollect nothing, but that I hoped he was not so near his end. He observed, smiling, that he certainly was, and that, as it was the debt which we must all pay, he looked to the event with perfect resignation.

In the course of the afternoon he appeared to be in great pain and distress from the difficulty of breathing, and frequently changed his posture in the bed. On these occasions I lay upon the bed, and endeavoured to raise him, and turn him with as much ease as possible. He appeared penetrated with gratitude for my attentions, and often said, ‘I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much;’ and upon my assuring him that I could feel nothing but a wish to give him ease, he replied, ‘Well, it is a debt we must pay to each

other, and I hope, when you want aid of this kind, you will find it.'

He asked when Mr. Lewis and Washington Custis would return. [They were then in New Kent.] I told him about the 20th of the month.

About five o'clock, Dr. Craik came again into the room, and upon going to the bedside, the General said to him, 'Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. I believed, from my first attack, that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long.' The Doctor pressed his hand, but could not utter a word. He retired from the bedside, and sat by the fire absorbed in grief.

Between five and six o'clock, Dr. Dick and Dr. Brown came into the room, and with Dr. Craik went to the bed, when Dr. Craik asked him if he could sit up in the bed. He held out his hand, and I raised him up. He then said to the physicians, 'I feel myself going; I thank you for your attentions; but I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long.' They found that all which had been done was without effect. He lay down again, and all retired except Dr. Craik. He continued in the same situation, uneasy and restless, but without complaining; frequently asking what hour it was. When I helped him to move at this time, he did not speak, but looked at me with strong expressions of gratitude.

About eight o'clock, the physicians came again into the room, and applied blisters and cataplasms of wheat bran to his legs and feet, after which they went out, except Dr. Craik, without a ray of hope. I went out about this time, and wrote a line to Mr. Law and Mr. Peter, requesting them to come with their wives

(Mrs. Washington's grand-daughters) as soon as possible to Mount Vernon.

About ten o'clock, he made several attempts to speak to me before he could affect it. At length he said, 'I am just going. Have me decently buried ; and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead.' I bowed assent, for I could not speak. He then looked at me again and said, 'Do you understand me ?' I replied, 'Yes.' ' 'Tis well,' said he.

About ten minutes before he expired (which was between ten and eleven o'clock), his breathing became easier. He lay quietly ; he withdrew his hand from mine, and felt his own pulse. I saw his countenance change. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire. He came to the bedside. The General's hand fell from his wrist. I took it in mine, and pressed it to my bosom. Dr. Craik put his hands over his eyes, and he expired without a struggle or a sigh.

While we were fixed in silent grief, Mrs. Washington, who was sitting at the foot of the bed, asked with a firm and collected voice, 'Is he gone ?' I could not speak, but held up my hand as a signal that he was no more. ' 'Tis well,' said she, in the same voice, 'all is now over ; I shall soon follow him ; I have no more trials to pass through.'

OCURRENCES NOT NOTED IN THE PRECEDING
NARRATIVE.

The General's servant, Christopher, was in the room during the day ; and in the afternoon the General directed him to sit down, as he had been standing almost the whole day. He did so.

About eight o'clock in the morning, he expressed

a desire to get up. His clothes were put on, and he was led to a chair by the fire. He found no relief from that position, and lay down again about ten o'clock.

About five in the afternoon, he was helped up again, and after sitting about half an hour, he desired to be undressed and put in bed, which was done.

During his whole illness he spoke but seldom, and with great difficulty and distress; and in so low and broken a voice as at times hardly to be understood. His patience, fortitude, and resignation, never forsook him for a moment. In all his distress he uttered not a sigh nor a complaint; always endeavouring, from a sense of duty, as it appeared, to take what was offered him, and to do as he was desired by the physicians.

At the time of his decease, Dr. Craik and myself were in the situation before-mentioned. Mrs. Washington was sitting near the foot of the bed. Christopher was standing near the bedside. Caroline, Molly, and Charlotte, were in the room, standing near the door. Mrs. Forbes, the housekeeper, was frequently in the room during the day and evening.

As soon as Dr. Craik could speak, after the distressing scene was closed, he desired one of the servants to ask the gentlemen below to come up stairs. When they came to the bedside, I kissed the cold hand which I had held to my bosom, laid it down, and went to the other end of the room, where I was for some time lost in profound grief, until aroused by Christopher desiring me to take care of the General's keys and other things which were taken out of his pockets, and which Mrs. Washington directed him to give to me. I wrapped them in the General's handkerchief, and took them to my room.

About twelve o'clock the corpse was brought down stairs, and laid out in the large room.*

Sunday, December 15th.—Mrs. Washington sent for me in the morning, and desired that I would send up to Alexandria and have a coffin made, which I did.

Mrs. Stuart was sent for in the morning. About ten o'clock, Mr. Thomas Peter came down; and about two, Mr. and Mrs. Law, to whom I had written on Saturday evening. Dr. Thornton came down with Mr. Law. Dr. Craik stayed all day and night.

In the evening I consulted with Mr. Law, Mr. Peter, and Dr. Craik, on fixing a day for depositing the body in the vault. I wished the ceremony to be postponed till the last of the week, to give time to some of the General's relations to be here; but Dr. Craik and Dr. Thornton gave it decidedly as their opinion that, considering the disorder of which the General died, being of an inflammatory nature, it would not be proper to keep the body so long, and therefore Wednesday was fixed upon for the funeral.

Monday, December 16th.—I directed the people to open the family vault, clear away the rubbish about it, and make everything decent; ordered a door to be made to the vault, instead of closing it again with brick, as had been the custom. Engaged Mr. Inglis and Mr. Munn to have a mahogany coffin made, lined with lead.

Dr. Craik, Mr. Peter, and Dr. Thornton, left us after breakfast. Mrs. Stuart and her daughters came in the afternoon. Mr. Anderson went to Alexandria to

* The following certificate, in the handwriting of Dr. Craik, is appended to the above portion of Mr. Lear's narrative:—

“*Sunday, December 15th.* The foregoing statement, so far as I can recollect, is correct.
“JAS. CRAIK.”

get a number of things preparatory for the funeral. Mourning was ordered for the family, domestics, and overseers.

Having received information from Alexandria that the militia, freemasons, &c., were determined to shew their respect for the General's memory by attending his body to the grave, I directed provision to be prepared for a large number of people, as some refreshment would be expected by them. Mr. Robert Hamilton wrote to me a letter informing me that a schooner of his would be off Mount Vernon to fire minute guns while the body was carrying to the grave. I gave notice of the time fixed for the funeral to the following persons by Mrs. Washington's desire,—namely, Mr. Mason and family, Mr. Peake and family, Mr. Nickols and family, Mr. M'Carty and family, Miss M'Carty, Mr. and Mrs. M'Clanahan, Lord Fairfax and family, Mr. Triplet and family, Mr. Anderson and family, Mr. Diggs, Mr. Cockburn and family, Mr. Massey and family, and Mr. R. West. Wrote also the Rev. Mr. Davis to read the service.

Tuesday, December 17th.—Every preparation for the mournful ceremony was making. Mr. Stewart, adjutant of the Alexandria regiment, came to view the ground for the procession. About one o'clock, the coffin was brought from Alexandria. Mr. Grater accompanied it with a shroud. The body was laid in the coffin. The mahogany coffin was lined with lead, soldered at the joints, with a cover of lead to be soldered on after the body should be in the vault. The coffin was put into a case lined and covered with black cloth.

Wednesday, December 18th.—About eleven o'clock, numbers of people began to assemble to attend the funeral, which was intended to have been at twelve

o'clock ; but as a great part of the troops expected could not get down in time, it did not take place till three.

Eleven pieces of artillery were brought from Alexandria ; and a schooner belonging to Mr. R. Hamilton came down and lay off Mount Vernon to fire minute guns.

About three o'clock the procession began to move. The arrangements of the procession were made by Colonels Little, Simms, Deneale, and Dr. Dick. The pall-holders were, Colonels Little, Simms, Payne, Gilpin, Ramsey, and Marsteler. Colonel Blackburn preceded the corpse. Colonel Deneale marched with the military. The procession moved out through the gate at the left wing of the house, and proceeded round in front of the lawn, and down to the vault on the right wing of the house. The procession was as follows:—

The Troops, horse and foot.

The Clergy—namely, the Reverend Messrs. Davis, Muir, Moffatt, and Addison.

The General's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols, led by two grooms, Cyrus and Wilson, in black.

The Body, borne by the Freemasons and Officers.

Principal Mourners,—namely,

Mrs. Stuart and Mrs. Law,

Misses Nancy and Sally Stuart,

Miss Fairfax and Miss Dennison,

Mr. Law and Mr. Peter,

Mr Lear and Dr. Craik,

Lord Fairfax and Ferdinando Fairfax.

Lodge, No. 23.

Corporation of Alexandria.

All other persons ; preceded
by Mr. Anderson and the Overseers.

When the body arrived at the vault, the Rev. Mr. Davis read the service and pronounced a short address.

The Masons performed their ceremonies, and the body was deposited in the vault.

After the ceremony, the company returned to the house, where they took some refreshment and retired in good order.”

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF
THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

[THE intelligence of the death of Washington had been received on the 18th of December, and the House of Representatives immediately adjourned. The next morning, Mr. Marshall addressed this speech to the house, and proposed the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.]

“ Mr. Speaker,—The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! The hero, the patriot, and the sage, of America—the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned and all hopes were placed—lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people.

“ If, Sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instrument for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents, which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

“ More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide-spreading empire, and to give to the western world independence and freedom.

“ Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier in the citizen.

“ When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our Revolution had promised to bestow.

“ In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute more than any other could contribute to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence.

“ Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his station to the peaceful walks of private life.

“ However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate, with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

“ Let us, then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the house.

“ *Resolved*, That this house will wait on the President, in condolence of this mournful event.

“ *Resolved*, That the Speaker’s chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session.

“ *Resolved*, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens.”

LETTER FROM THE SENATE TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES.

23rd December, 1799.

“ Sir,—The Senate of the United States respectfully take leave to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

“ This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to him ‘ who maketh darkness his pavilion.’

“ With patriotic pride we review the life of our

Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern times are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory ; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honour ; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favoured of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

“ Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example ; his spirit is in heaven.

“ Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours and his example are their inheritance.”

THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

23rd December, 1799.

“ Gentlemen of the Senate,—I receive with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

“ In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections

on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

“Among all our original associates in that memorable league of this continent, in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother, yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes to mingle their sorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

“The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that character and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men and the results

of their actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

“His example is now complete ; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

“JOHN ADAMS.”

JOINT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY BOTH HOUSES
OF CONGRESS.

December 23rd.—Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the capitol of the city of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further resolved, That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran church, in memory of General George Washington, on Thursday, the 26th instant, and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both houses that day ; and that the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives be desired to request one of the members of Congress to prepare and deliver the same.

And be it further resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the

United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear for her person and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting dispensation of Providence ; and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution.

December 30th.—Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers.

And it is further resolved, That the President be requested to issue a proclamation for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolution into effect.

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON;

DESIGNED FOR A MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.*

WASHINGTON,

The Defender of his Country, the Founder of Liberty,
The Friend of Man.

History and Tradition are explored in vain
For a Parallel to his Character.

In the Annals of modern Greatness,
He stands alone;

And the noblest Names of Antiquity
Lose their Lustre in his Presence.

Born the Benefactor of Mankind,
He united all the Qualities necessary

To an Illustrious Career.

Nature made him Great,

He made himself Virtuous.

Called by his Country to the Defence of her Liberties,

He triumphantly vindicated the Rights of Humanity,

And on the Pillars of National Independence

Laid the Foundations of a Great Republic.

Twice invested with Supreme Magistracy

By the Unanimous Voice of a Free People,

He surpassed in the Cabinet

The Glories of the Field,

And, voluntarily resigning the Sceptre and the Sword,

Retired to the Shades of Private Life.

A Spectacle so new and so sublime

Was contemplated with the profoundest Admiration ;

And the Name of WASHINGTON,

Adding new Lustre to Humanity,

Resounded to the remotest regions of the Earth.

Magnanimous in Youth,

Glorious through Life,

Great in Death,

His highest Ambition, the Happiness of Mankind ;

His noblest Victory, the Conquest of Himself.

Bequeathing to Posterity the Inheritance of his Fame,

And building his Monument in the Hearts of his Countrymen,

He lived the Ornament of the Eighteenth Century,

He died regretted by a mourning World.

* The author of this composition is not known. It has been transcribed from a manuscript copy, written on the back of a picture-frame, in which is set a miniature likeness of Washington, and which hangs in one of the rooms of the mansion at Mount Vernon, having been left there some time after Washington's death.

ORIGIN AND GENEALOGY
OF THE
WASHINGTON FAMILY,
WASHINGTON'S WILL,
ETC.

ORIGIN AND GENEALOGY

OF THE

WASHINGTON FAMILY.

THERE was a tradition in the branch of the Washington family to which General Washington belonged, that their ancestors emigrated to America from Yorkshire, in the North of England. No facts had been collected, however, to confirm this tradition, nor did General Washington himself pretend to have any certain knowledge on the subject. Soon after he became President of the United States, Sir Isaac Heard, then Garter King of Arms in London, wrote to him, stating that from curiosity he had been at considerable pains to investigate this matter, and had made some progress, but that he was still in doubt as to several points, and he requested such particulars as could be furnished by the family in America.

To gratify this request, as far as it was in his power, Washington applied to several aged persons for their reminiscences, procured copies and abstracts of wills, and collected such other materials as could be found, from which he drew up a paper, and forwarded it to the Garter King of Arms. This paper was the basis of an imperfect genealogical table, which was constructed and sent to Mount Vernon; but an inflammation of the eyes, which seems to have afflicted Sir Isaac Heard for several years before his death, prevented his pursuing the inquiry; and it does not appear that Washington obtained any other facts than those contained in the paper above mentioned. Sir Isaac Heard ascertained, however, that the two brothers, who were the first of the family that came to America, were not from Yorkshire, but from Northamptonshire, and he traced their ancestors to Lancashire.

While I was in England, searching for the materials which have been used to fill out and illustrate various parts of Washington's writings, I embraced the opportunity to make further inquiries respecting the origin and history of the family. At the Herald's College I was politely allowed access to all the

manuscripts of Sir Isaac Heard on this subject; and with the aid of these and of the voluminous county histories in the public libraries, I was enabled to collect a few facts which may be thought worthy of being preserved in connexion with the life of one who has added so much lustre to the name.

In the County of Durham is a parish called *Washington*, and the earliest period in which any person is known or supposed to have been called by that name was towards the close of the twelfth century. The following is Hutchinson's account of this parish:—

“The manor is mentioned in the Boldon Book,* wherein it is said WILLIAM DE HERTBURN held the same, except the church and the lands thereto appertaining, in exchange for the vill of Hertburn, rendering four pounds, serving in the great chace with two greyhounds, and paying one mark to the palatine aid, when such happened to be raised. At the time of making Bishop Hatfield's survey,† the resident family had assumed a local name, and WILLIAM DE WESSYNGTON, knight, then held the manor and vill. On the inquisition taken at his death, in the twenty-second year of that prelate,‡ it appears that in his service he was to provide three greyhounds for the chace, and if he took any game in his way to the forest, it should be for the Bishop's use, but what he got on his return was to be taken for his own benefit. In Bishop Langley's § time, we find Washington was become the estate of the Blackstons.” ||

The same particulars are stated by Shurtees, who adds the following:—

“It seems probable that either *William de Hertburn* or his immediate descendants assumed the local name; for *William de Wessyngton* occurs as a witness in charters of Bishops Robert de Stichell ¶ and de Insula.** *William de Wessyngton*, chevalier, had licence to settle the manor on himself, his wife Katherine, and his own right heirs, in 1350, and died in 1367, seised of the whole manor and vill, by the above-mentioned free rent of four pounds, leaving William his son and heir, who held by the same tenure under Hatfield's survey.

* “So called from the parish of Boldon (near Washington), where it was written in 1180, it being a record of survey.”

† “About A.D. 1345, when Hatfield was made Bishop.”

‡ “About 1367.”

§ “Langley was made Bishop in 1406, and died in 1437.”

|| Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 489.

¶ Robert de Stichell was made Bishop of Durham in 1261, and died in 1274.—Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 214.

** Robert de Insula, made Bishop in 1274, died 1283.—Ibid. p. 223.

Before 1400, the direct line expired in another William, whose only daughter, Dionisia, married Sir William Tempest, of Studley.*

From these authorities it appears that *Hertburn* was the original name of the Washington family, that the latter name probably was assumed by William de Hertburn between the years 1261 and 1274, and that the manor was held in the male line till about the year 1400, or one hundred and thirty years. During this period the name seems to have been usually written *Wessyngton*, though it is sometimes found *Wessington*. In its subsequent changes it was probably written variously at different times, and by different branches of the family. At the Herald's College, in the "VISITATION BOOK" (so called) of Northamptonshire for the year 1618, I found the autographs of *Alban Wasshington* and *Robert Wasshington*. These persons were uncles to John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia.

Notwithstanding that the manor was no longer held by a person of the same name, yet the family extended itself; and one of the number, called *John de Wessyngton*, attained to considerable eminence as a scholar and divine, being elected Prior of Durham on the 5th of November, 1416.

"This learned Prior," says Hutchinson, "wrote many tracts, particularly one, *De Juribus et Possessionibus Ecclesiæ Dunelm.*, wherein he proves, that the Priors of Durham were always invested with the dignity of Abbots. There are some of his manuscripts in the Dean and Chapter's library. The account of the paintings in the windows, and of the ornaments and ceremonies of the church, now extant, is by some attributed to him. He renewed the dispute with the Bishop touching the profession of the monks, which was determined in the Prior's favour, and presided at the general chapter held for the order of St. Benedict, at Northampton, in the year 1426. In his time several licences were obtained for acquiring lands for the monastery. Prior Wessyngton presided thirty years, and departed this life in the year 1446. He was buried before the door of the north aisle, near to St. Benedict's altar. On his tombstone was an inscription in brass, now totally lost."†

Concerning the times in which the several branches of the family separated from the original stock, and the directions in which they spread, very little is known. During the century following Prior Wessyngton's death, we can trace them in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and perhaps in other parts of England. If we

* Shurtee's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 40.

† Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 96.

may judge from the records of the transfers of estates and monumental inscriptions contained in the county histories, many who bore the name were persons of wealth and consideration. Their armorial bearings were varied, but whether to distinguish different branches of the family, or for other reasons, neither my knowledge of their history, nor my skill in heraldry, enables me to decide.*

The prior of Durham was not the only man of learning among them. Joseph Washington, an eminent lawyer of Gray's Inn, Thoresby says, "is to be remembered among the authors." He wrote the first volume of "Modern Reports;" "Observations upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England," published in 1689; "Abridgment of the Statutes to 1687;" a translation of part of "Lucian's Dialogues;" and other tracts.† He was buried in the Benchers' Vault of the Inner Temple. He was of the Adwick family, son of Robert Washington, a wealthy merchant, who lived and died at Anstroepe Hall, near Leeds.

Anthony Wood says, in his "History of the University of Oxford," that it was allowed by the venerable association that several persons "might have liberty when they pleased to be created doctors of divinity; but they refused then and the next year to accept that favour." Among the persons who declined this honour was Richard Washington of University

* The following extract from Edmondson's Heraldry will shew some of the varieties, as adopted by the Washingtons in several counties:—

WASHINGTON ARMS.

- "1. Gules on a fess argent, three mullets pierced of the field.
- "2. In Buckinghamshire, Kent, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire; argent, two bars gules in chief, three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or.
- "3. Gules, two bars in chief, three martlets of the second.
- "4. In Lancashire; Barry of four argent and gules on a chief of the second, three mullets of the first.
- "5. In Yorkshire; vert, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure gobonated argent and azure."

The second variety here described was the one used by General Washington, being probably the original arms of the family.

† Thoresby's History of Leeds, p. 97. Toland says, that he was the translator of Milton's "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," in reply to Salmasius. Life of Milton, p. 84. The translator's name is not prefixed to the first edition; but the publisher states in an advertisement, "that the person who took the pains to translate it did it partly for his own private entertainment, and partly to gratify one or two of his friends, without any design of making it public, and is since deceased." This edition was printed in the year 1692, and it is probable that Joseph Washington had died not long before that time. The translation is the same that is usually printed with Milton's prose writings. The interest he took in this performance indicates the tenour of his political sentiments, as well as the fact mentioned by Hunter that he was an intimate friend of the celebrated Lord Somers.

College.* And Mr. Hunter cites Wood, as giving an account of a remarkable collection of arms and pictures in the apartments of Philip Washington, of the same college, who died in 1635.†

In the history of the civil wars, another of the family, named Henry Washington, is renowned for the resolute and spirited manner in which he defended the city of Worcester against the forces of the parliament in 1646.

“Lord Astley, who had succeeded Colonel Sandys as Governor of Worcester, being taken prisoner and confined at Warwick, Sir Henry Washington was made Governor and Colonel in his absence. In the Herald’s College it appears that the last entry of this gentleman’s family was made there in the year 1618, at which time the name of Henry Washington, son and heir of William Washington, of Packington, in the county of Leicester, occurs; who, on the following grounds is conjectured to have been afterwards the Governor of Worcester:—First, the name of Henry does not occur at all in any other pedigree of Washington. Secondly, his mother was half-sister to the famous George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, which accounts for his great attachment to the king. An uncle of this Henry Washington, mentioned in the entry of the College of Arms above cited, is supposed to have been the ancestor of the renowned General George Washington.”‡

In the Appendix to the second volume of Nash’s *History of Worcestershire*, there is a highly interesting narrative of the siege of Worcester, drawn from the diary of a gentleman who was in the city during the whole siege. The conduct of the Governor appears throughout to the greatest advantage. His spirit and firmness will be evident from his first letter to General Fairfax, who demanded a surrender on the 16th of May, eleven days after the king had escaped in disguise from Oxford.

“It is acknowledged by your books, and by report out of your own quarters,” said Governor Washington, in reply to Fairfax, “that the king is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty’s commands for the disposal of this garrison. Till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can. The worst I know, and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had

* *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 57.

† Hunter’s *History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, vol. i. p. 353.

‡ Greene’s *History of Worcestershire*, vol. ii., Append. p. 154.

not been begun, nor so long continued, by your excellency's humble servant."

The king's fortunes were now desperate; but the siege was maintained, even against all hope, for nearly three months, when honourable conditions were granted.

That this Sir Henry Washington was the same person whose name is conjectured above to be entered in the last *Visitation Book*, in the Herald's College, the circumstantial evidence is strong. In Baker's pedigree of this branch of the family, Henry Washington is stated to have been eight years old in 1618. But in the original book at the College, I found the entry to be three years. The error was probably occasioned by a misprint of a figure. According to the original entry, therefore, he would have been thirty-one years old at the siege of Worcester, in 1646. He was nephew to John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to America about eleven years after the siege of Worcester, and of course first cousin to General George Washington's grandfather.*

The ancestors of General Washington in a direct line are traced to Whitfield and Warton, in the county of Lancaster. Whitaker, in his *History of Northamptonshire*, says of the parish church at Warton, "The tower appears to be contemporary with the restoration of the church, and on the north side of the door are the arms of Washington, an old family of considerable property within the parish; whence it may be inferred that one of the name either built the steeple at his own expense, or was at least a considerable benefactor to the work." Baker gives a pedigree of the family in Lancaster county for three generations. At what time the migration of some of the members to the south took place is uncertain. The earliest notice we have on the subject is in 1532, when Lawrence Washington, son of John Washington of Warton, was mayor of Northampton. His mother was a daughter of Robert Kilson, of Warton, and sister to Sir Thomas Kilson, alderman of London. From this date the genealogy is unbroken. Upon the surrender of the monasteries in 1538, the manor of Sulgrave, near Northampton, which belonged to the Priory

* This Henry Washington is doubtless the same mentioned by Clarendon, as having distinguished himself at the taking of Bristol, in 1643, three years before the siege of Worcester. "Though the division," says Clarendon, "led on by Lord Grandison was beaten off, Lord Grandison himself being hurt; and the other, led on by Colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain, between the places assailed by the other two, weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow."—*History of the Rebellion*, Book vii.

of St. Andrew, was given up to the crown ; and the next year, this manor and other lands in the vicinity were granted to Lawrence Washington. Among the manuscripts of Sir Isaac Heard, I found a letter to him from Mr. Wykam, dated at Sulgrave, August 15th, 1793, from which the following extract is taken :—

“ There is in our parish church on a stone slab a brass plate, with this inscription in the old black character :—‘ *Here lyeth buried the bodys of Lawrence Wasshington, Gent. and Anne his wyf, by whome he had issue four sons and seven daughters ; which Lawrence dyed ye day of An. 15—; and Anne deceased 6th day of October, An. Dm. 1564.*’ On the same stone is also a shield much defaced, and effigies in brass of the four sons and seven daughters. Over the four sons is a figure larger than the rest, which is supposed to be the father’s effigy. There was formerly one over the seven daughters ; but this is gone. The arms of the *Wasshington* family (so, spelled on six of the seven) were copied from some painted glass of the old manor-house in this village.”

The death of this Lawrence Washington, according to Baker, occurred on the 19th of February, 1584. The manor of Sulgrave descended to his eldest son Robert. It was long held in the family, and thence derived the name of *Washington’s Manor*. The first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave had eleven children, four sons and seven daughters. His eldest son Robert was twice married, and had sixteen children, ten sons and six daughters. Lawrence, the eldest son of Robert Washington, had fourteen children, seven sons and seven daughters. The eldest son was Sir William Washington, of Packington, who married the half-sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as stated above, and was the father (as is supposed) of Sir Henry Washington, the defender of Worcester. The second and fourth of these sons were John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia, about the year 1657. They were great grandsons of the first Lawrence of Sulgrave ; and John was the great-grandfather of General Washington. These particulars may be seen more at large in Baker’s pedigree of the family, inserted hereafter.

The second son of the first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave was Sir Lawrence Washington of Garsdon, county of Wilts. His grand-daughter, Elizabeth Washington, who appears to have been an only child and heiress, married Robert Shirley, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, afterwards Earl Ferrers, and Viscount Tamworth. She died in 1693. The family names were united, and Washington Shirley, a son of

Robert, was the second Earl Ferrers. Some of the other Earls since that time have borne the same name.

The history of the American branch of the family, as far as it is known, is contained in President Washington's letter to Sir Isaac Heard, in reply to his inquiries on the subject.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO SIR ISAAC HEARD.

“ Philadelphia, 2nd May, 1792.

“ Sir,—Your letter of the 7th of December was put into my hands by Mr. Thornton, and I must request that you will accept my acknowledgments, as well for the polite manner in which you express your wishes for my happiness, as for the trouble you have taken in making genealogical collections relative to the family of Washington.

“ This is a subject to which I confess I have paid very little attention. My time has been so much occupied in the busy and active scenes of life, from an early period of it, that but a small portion could have been devoted to researches of this nature, even if my inclination or particular circumstances should have prompted to the inquiry. I am therefore apprehensive that it will not be in my power, circumstanced as I am at present, to furnish you with materials to fill up the sketch which you have sent me, in so accurate a manner as you could wish. We have no office of record in this country in which exact genealogical documents are preserved; and very few cases, I believe, occur where a recurrence to pedigrees for any considerable distance back has been found necessary to establish such points as may frequently arise in older countries.

“ On comparing the tables which you sent with such document as are in my possession, and which I could readily obtain from another branch of the family with whom I am in the habit of correspondence, I find it to be just. I have often heard others of the family older than myself say that our ancestor who first settled in this country came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember.

“ The arms enclosed in your letter are the same that are held by the family here; though I have also seen, and have used, as you may perceive by the seal to this packet, a flying griffin for the crest.

“ If you can derive any information from the enclosed lineage, which will enable you to complete your table, I shall be well pleased in having been the means of assisting you in those researches which you have had the politeness to under-

take, and shall be glad to be informed of the result, and of the ancient pedigree of the family, some of whom I find intermixed with that of Ferrers.

“Lawrence Washington, from whose Will you enclosed an abstract, was my grandfather. The other abstracts which you sent, do not, I believe, relate to the family of Washington in Virginia; but of this I cannot speak positively.

“With due consideration, I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE WASHINGTON FAMILY,
ENCLOSED IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

“In the year 1657, or thereabouts, and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, John and Lawrence Washington, brothers, emigrated from the North of England,* and settled at Bridge’s Creek, on the Potomac River, in the county of Westmoreland. But from whom they descended, the subscriber is possessed of no document to ascertain.

“John Washington was employed as general against the Indians in Maryland, and as a reward for his services was made a colonel; and the parish wherein he lived was called after him. He married Anne Pope, and left issue two sons, Lawrence and John, and one daughter, Anne, who married Major Francis Wright. The time of his death the subscriber is not able to ascertain; but it appears that he was interred in a vault which had been erected at Bridge’s Creek.

“Lawrence Washington, his eldest son, married Mildred Warner, daughter of Colonel Augustine Warner, of Gloucester county, by whom he had two sons, John and Augustine, and one daughter, named Mildred. He died in 1697, and was interred in the family vault at Bridge’s Creek.

“John Washington, the eldest son of Lawrence and Mildred, married Catherine Whiting, of Gloucester county, where he settled, died, and was buried. He had two sons, Warner and Henry; and three daughters, Mildred, Elizabeth, and Catharine, all of whom are dead.

“Warner Washington married first Elizabeth Macon,

* This tradition probably arose from the circumstance that John Washington owned an estate at South Cave, in the East Riding of the County of York, where he resided before he came to America.

daughter of Colonel William Macon, of New Kent county, by whom he had one son, who is now living, and bears the name of Warner. His second wife was Hannah, youngest daughter of the Honourable William Fairfax, by whom he left two sons, and five daughters, as follows:—namely, Mildred, Hannah, Catharine, Elizabeth, Louisa, Fairfax, and Whiting. The three oldest of the daughters are married; Mildred to — Throckmorton, Hannah to — Whiting, and Catharine to — Nelson. After his second marriage, he removed from Gloucester and settled in Frederic county, where he died in 1791.

“Warner Washington, his son, married — Whiting of Gloucester, by whom he has many sons and daughters; the eldest is called Warner, and is now nearly, if not quite, of age.

“Henry, the other son of John and Catharine Washington, married the daughter of Colonel Thacker, of Middlesex county, and died many years ago, leaving one son, Thacker, and two or three daughters.

“Thacker Washington married the daughter of Sir John Peyton, of Gloucester county, and lives on the family estate, left to his grandfather John, at Machodac, in the county of Westmoreland. He has several children.

“Mildred, daughter of John and Catharine, of Gloucester, was twice married, but never had a child. Elizabeth never was married. Catharine married Fielding Lewis, by whom she had a son and daughter. John, the eldest, is now living. Frances died without issue.

“Augustine, son of Lawrence and Mildred Washington, married Jane Butler, the daughter of Caleb Butler, of Westmoreland, April 20th, 1715, by whom he had three sons, Butler (who died young), Lawrence, and Augustine, and one daughter, Jane, who died when a child. Jane, wife of Augustine, died November 24th, 1728, and was buried in the family vault at Bridge’s Creek.

“Augustine then married Mary Ball, March 6th, 1730, by whom he had issue George [the writer], born February 11th (old style), 1732; Betty, born June 20th, 1733; Samuel, born November 16th, 1734, John Augustine, born January 13th, 1735; Charles, May 1st, 1738; and Mildred, June 21st, 1739, who died October 28th, 1740. Augustine departed this life April 12th, 1743, aged 49 years, and was interred at Bridge’s Creek, in the vault of his ancestors.

“Lawrence, son of Augustine and Jane Washington, married July 19th, 1743, Anne, eldest daughter of the Honourable William Fairfax, of Fairfax county, by whom he had issue, Jane, born September 27th, 1744; who died in January, 1745;

Fairfax, born August 22nd, 1747, who died in October, 1747; Mildred, born September 28th, 1748, who died in 1749; Sarah, born November 7th, 1750, who died in 175-. In 1752 Lawrence himself died, aged about 34, and was interred in a vault which he had caused to be erected at Mount Vernon, in Fairfax county, where he settled after he returned from the Carthagera expedition.

“Augustine, son of Augustine and Jane Washington, married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of William Aylett, of Westmoreland county, by whom he had many children, all of whom died in their nonage and single, except Elizabeth, who married Alexander Spotswood, of Spotsylvania county, grandson of General Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, by whom she has a number of children; Anne, who married Burdet Ashton, of Westmoreland, by whom she had one or two children, and died young; and William, who married his cousin Jane, daughter of John Augustine Washington, by whom he has four children. Augustine lived at the ancient mansion seat in Westmoreland county, where he died, and was interred in the family vault.

“George, eldest son of Augustine Washington by the second marriage, was born in Westmoreland county, and married, January 6th, 1759, Martha Custis, widow of Daniel Parke Custis, and daughter of John Dandridge, both of New Kent county; has no issue.

“Betty, daughter of Augustine and Mary Washington, became the second wife of Fielding Lewis, by whom she had a number of children, many of whom died young, but five sons and a daughter are yet living.

“Samuel, son of Augustine and Mary, was five times married. 1. To Jane, daughter of Colonel John Champe. 2. To Mildred, daughter of Colonel John Thornton. 3. To Lucy, daughter of Nathaniel Chapman. 4. To Anne, daughter of Colonel William Steptoe, and widow of Willoughby Alleton. 5. To a Widow Perrin. Samuel, by his second wife, Mildred, had issue one son, Thornton, who was twice married, and left three sons. He died in or about the year ——. By his fourth wife, Anne, he had three sons, Ferdinand, George Steptoe, and Lawrence Augustine, and a daughter, Harriot. Ferdinand was married, but died soon after, leaving no issue. The other two sons and daughter are living and single. Samuel had children by his other wives, but they all died in their infancy. He departed this life himself in the year 1781, at Harewood, in the county of Berkeley, where he was buried.

“John Augustine, son of Augustine and Mary, married

Hannah Bushrod, daughter of Colonel John Bushrod, of Westmoreland county, by whom he has left two sons, Bushrod and Corbin, and two daughters, Jane and Mildred. He had several other children, but they died young. Jane, his eldest child, married (as has been before observed) William Washington, son of Augustine and Anne Washington, and died in 1791, leaving four children.

“ Bushrod married, in 1785, Anne Blackburn, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blackburn, of Prince William county, but has no issue. Corbin married a daughter of the Honourable Richard Henry Lee, by whom he has three sons. Mildred married Thomas Lee, son of the said Richard Henry Lee. John Augustine died in February 1787, at his estate on Nomony, in Westmoreland county, and was there buried.

“ Charles Washington, son of Augustine and Mary, married Mildred Thornton, daughter of Colonel Frances Thornton, of Spotsylvania county, by whom he has four children, George Augustine, Frances, Mildred, and Samuel. George Augustine married Frances Bassett, daughter of Colonel Burwell Bassett, of New Kent, by whom he has four children; three of whom are living,—namely, Anna Maria, George Fayette, and Charles Augustine. Frances married Colonel Burgess Ball, by whom she has had several children. Mildred and Samuel are unmarried.

“ Mildred Washington, daughter of Lawrence and Mildred, and sister to John and Augustine Washington, married — Gregory, by whom she had three daughters, Frances, Mildred, and Elizabeth, who married three brothers, Colonel Francis Thornton, Colonel John Thornton, and Reuben Thornton, all of Spotsylvania county. She had for her second husband Colonel Henry Willis, and by him the present Colonel Lewis Willis, of Fredericksburg.

“ The above is the best account the subscriber is able at present to give, absent as he is, and at so great a distance from Virginia, and under circumstances, too, which allow no time for inquiry of the family of Washington, from which he is lineally descended.

“ The descendants of the first-named Lawrence, and the second John, are also numerous; but for the reasons before mentioned, and from not having the same knowledge of them, and being moreover more remote from their places of residence, and, in truth, not having inquired much into the names or

connexion of the lateral branches of the family, I am unable to give a satisfactory account of them. But if it be in any degree necessary or satisfactory to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms, I will, upon intimation thereof, set on foot an inquiry, and will at the same time endeavour to be more particular with respect to the births, names, ages, and burials of those of the branch to which the subscriber belongs.

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

After Sir Isaac Heard received this letter he constructed from it a table, which he forwarded to President Washington requesting him to supply other dates and descriptions. But there is no evidence of any additional facts having been obtained. It was the chief object of Sir Isaac Heard, however, to ascertain whether John and Lawrence Washington who emigrated to Virginia were of the Sulgrave family, and brothers to Sir William Washington of Packington. This was his impression, but he was not fully satisfied with the proof. It has since been confirmed by Baker, in his *History of Northamptonshire*.

I shall here subjoin Baker's genealogical table of the family before the emigration of the two brothers, and Sir Isaac Heard's table of the American branch in continuation. To these will be added the genealogy of the Washington family of Adwick, taken from Hunter's *History of Doncaster*. It is not known what degree of affinity there was between the heads of the two families, but it is probable that there are many descendants from both in America.

TABLE I.

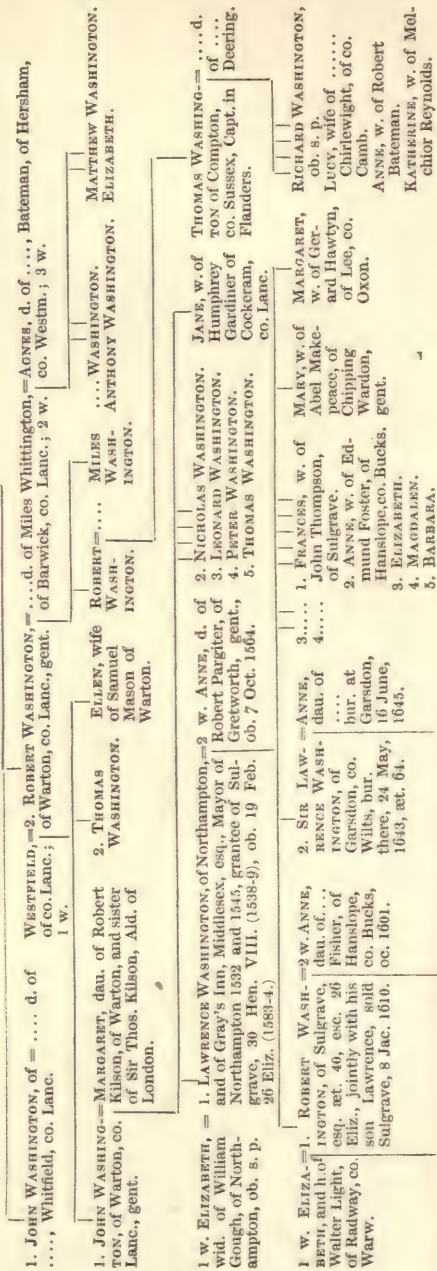
In 30 Henry VIII. (1539-9), the Manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved Priory of St. Andrew, with all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stokesbury and Cotton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said Priory, and all lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of canons Ashby and Catesby, were granted to Lawrence Washington, of Northampton, Gent., who died seised in 26 Eliz. (1583-4), leaving Robert Washington his son and heir, aged forty years, who, jointly with his eldest son, Lawrence Washington, sold the Manor of Sulgrave in 8 Jac. (1610) to his nephew, Lawrence Makepeace, of the Inner Temple, London, Gent.

Lawrence Washington, after the sale of this estate, retired to Brington, where he died. His second son, John Washington, emigrated to America about the middle of the seventeenth century; and, as exhibited in the subjoined pedigree, was great-grandfather of George Washington, the first President of the United States.

PEDIGREE OF WASHINGTON OF SULGRAVE.

ARMS. Argent, two bars, gules in chief three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or.

JOHN WASHINGTON, of Whitfield, co. Lanc. = ...



1. LAWRENCE = MARGARET, daughter of William of Sulgrave, esq., ob. 13 Dec., bur. at Brington, 15 Dec. 1616.	2. ROBERT WASHINGTON, of Brington, gent., ob. 10 Mar., bur. there 11 Mar. 1622-3, mar. Elizabeth, dau. of Sussex, esq., mar. at Aston, 3 Aug. 1588.	3. WALTER WASHINGTON, ob. inf.	4. WALTER WASHINGTON, of co. Warw., m. Catherine, d. of J. Morden of Ratcliffe, 1622-3.	5. CHRISTOPHER WASHINGTON, mar. Margaret, dau. of ... Palmer, of Radway, co. Warw., way, co. Warw., m. Catherine, d. of J. Morden of Ratcliffe, 1622-3.	6. WILLIAM WASHINGTON, son of Ratcliffe, 1622-3.	7. THOMAS WASHINGTON, son of Ratcliffe, 1622-3.	8. ALBAN WASHINGTON, esq., ob. 1618.	9. ROBERT WASHINGTON, esq., ob. 1678.	10. MARY, w. of Martin Edmon, of Banbury, w. of J. Gardiner, Catherine.	11. LAWRENCE = ELEANOR, = 2 h. Sir Mary, w. of William Pargiter, esq., of Elmore, co. Wilts, esq.
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1. SIR WILLIAM WASHINGTON, half sister to George Washington, Villiers, Duke of Pack- ington, Bucking- ham. con. Leic.	2. JOHN WASHINGTON, of South Cave, co. York, Bucking- emigrated to America	= ANNE, Pope.	RICHARD WASHINGTON, Lawrence Washington, student at Oxford, 1622, emigrated to America. THOMAS WASHINGTON. GEORGE WASHINGTON. GREGORY WASHINGTON,	ELIZABETH, w. of Francis Mewer. JoAN, wife of Francis Till. MARGARET. ALICE.	AMY, m. at Brington, 8 Aug. 1620, Philip Curtis, gent. BARBARA, bur. at Ashton, 1 Apr. 1635, w. of Simon Butler of Appietre, gent., bur. at Aston, 16 June, 1628.	JOHN WASHINGTON, of Railway, co. Warw., mar. Mary, dau. of George Danvers of Blisworth, esq.	ELIZABETH, daughter and heir, ob. 2 Oct. 1693; 1st wife of Rob. Shirley, Baron Ferrers of Chart- ley, co. Staff., afterwards Earl Ferrers, ob. 25 Dec. 1717.
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1. HENRY WASHINGTON, at. 8, 1618.	2. GEORGE WASHINGTON.			
LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, of = MILDRED, daughter of Augustus = 2 hus. George		JOHN WASHINGTON. wife	ANNE, wife of
Bridges Cr., Va., died, 1697. time Warner, Glouc. co. Gale.			of ... Lewis.	Francis Wright, sisters.

I. JOHN WASHINGTON, = CATHARINE, dau. of Whiting, Glouc. co.	MILDRED, w. of Gregory.	1 w. JANE, dau. of Caleb Butler, of Westm. co., mar. 20 April, 1715, died 24 Nov. 1728.	1 w. JANE, dau. of Caleb Butler, = 2. AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, of Washington parish, Westmoreland co., Va., b. 1694; died 12 April, 1743, æt. 49.	2 w. MARY, dau. of Ball, mar. 6 March, 1730; died 25 August, 1789, æt. 82.
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4. GEORGE WASHINGTON—MARTHA, dau of John Danbridge, States, President of the U. S.; b. 11 Feb. (O. S.) 1732, in Westm. co., Va., mar. 6 Jan. 1759; died 14 Dec. 1799, s. p., æt. 67.

5. SAMUEL, =1 W. JANE CHAMPE. b. 16 Nov. 1734, died 1784, of Da- and wid. of Daniel Parke Custis, of New Kent co., Va., 6 May, 1732, died 22 May, 1802, æt. 70.

6. JOHN AUSTIN—HANNAH, dau of John Westm. co., Va., b. 13 Bushrod, Jan. 1735; died 1787, co. æt. 52.

7. CHARLES, =MILDRED, b. 1 May, 1738, daughter of Francis Thornton. b. 20 June, 1733.

8. BETTY, =FELDING MILDRED, born 21 June, 1739, died 28 Oct. 1740.

TABLE II.

PEDIGREE OF WASHINGTON OF ADWICK-LE-STREET.—ARMS. Argent, two bars, and three mullets in chief gules.

RICHARD WASHINGTON. = JANE LUND.

JAMES WASHINGTON, of Adwick-le-Street, esq., a justice of the peace 22 Elizabeth, died = MARGARET, dau. of John Anlaby, of Eton, died 1579, aged 1580, aged 44, and was buried at Adwick.

RICHARD WASHINGTON, of = MARY, dau. of
Adwick, esq., son and heir, Thos. Womb.
treasurer of the lame sol- well, of Womb-
diers, 22 Jac. I. well, esq.

DARCY WASH- = ANN, dau. of
INGTON, of Matthew
Adwick, esq. Wentworth,
of Bretton,
esq.

JAMES WASHINGTON, = ELIZABETH, dau. of
of Adwick, esq., a William Copley, of
lieut.-col. in the Sprotborough, sur-
king's army, died at vived, and married
the siege of Ponte- Stephen Eyre.
fract.

RICHARD WASH- = ELIZABETH,
INGTON, of Ad- dau. of
wick, esq., a cap- Ap Rees, of
tain in the train- Washingley,
ed bands, aged 28, co. Hunt.
1666, died 1678, aged 39.

RICHARD WASHINGTON =
of Adwick, bapt. 1673,
living 1703.

GODFREY WASHINGTON, of Doncaster, 2nd
son, coroner for the West Riding, born 1710.
died about 1770.

LEONARD.
FRANCIS.
FRANCIS.
MARY.

THOMAS.
RICHARD, B.D. of
University coll., Ox-
ford, and provost of
Trin. coll., Dublin.

ANN, mar. George Gill, of Norton, co. Derb.
GRACE, mar. Thomas Stanhope, of Hampole.
MARY, mar. John Rawson, of Pickburn.
SARAH, mar. Godfrey Copley, son of Godfrey
Copley, of Skelbrooke.
ELIZABETH, died unmarried.

ELIZABETH
BOWEN, of
Sprotbo-
rough, mar.
28 Oct.
1669.
ROB. EYRE,
of Holmes-
field.

ELIZABETH.
ANNE.
FRANCES.

JUDITH.
ELIZABETH, mar. William Hutchin-
son, merchant.

BAETHOLO- = ISABEL, to
MEW, rector whom adm.
of Burgh- was granted,
Wallis. 1622.

CATHERINE.
JANE.
FRANCES, mar. Roger
Kilvert, of London,
merchant.
ELIZABETH.
MARY.

ROBERT, = ROSAMUND,
of Leeds, dau. of
died, 1674.

JOSEPH, =
of Gray's Ursula, dau.
Inn, esq., son, of Pick-
and of burn.
Carhouse,
near Don-
caster.

MARY, bapt. at Don-
caster, 1683.
JOHN, bapt. at Don-
caster, 1686.

MARY, mar. 1. George Smith, esq., of
Skellowgrange; 2. Capt. Murray.

WASHINGTON'S WILL.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name,* to be my last WILL and TESTAMENT, revoking all others.

Imprimis.—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid, and the legacies hereinafter bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item.—To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Washington*, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron Streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever; as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item.—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves whom I hold *in my own right* shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriage with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences to the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this devise,

* In the original manuscript, George Washington's name was written at the bottom of every page.

there may be some, who, from old age or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and, in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said Commonwealth of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivors of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, *William*, calling himself *William Lee*, I give immediate freedom, or, if he should prefer it, (on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of any active employment,) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the first; and this I give him, as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.

Item.—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars, or in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at, and annexed to, the said Academy, for the

purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity; the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said trustees, for the time being, for the uses above mentioned; the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

Item. — Whereas by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated Company established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from the tide water to the mountains; and also with fifty shares, of £100 sterling each, in the corporation of another Company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the River Potomac, from the tide water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honourable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from, —viz. not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other States in the Union; adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to *public uses*, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law, and sundry resolutions, in the most

ample and honourable manner;—I proceed after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare, that as it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome; for these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and State prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a University in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof may be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and, as a matter of infinite importance, in my judgment, by associating with each other, and forming friendships in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country. Under these impressions, so fully dilated,

Item. — I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid acts of the Legislature of Virginia), towards the endowment of a University, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and, until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congress, provided that honourable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of

such stock is to be vested in more stock, and so on, until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained, of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by the legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item.—The hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Item.—I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, *Samuel Washington*, from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to *Philip Pendleton* (lying in the county of Berkeley), who assigned the same to him, the said *Samuel*, who by agreement was to pay me therefor. And whereas, by some contract (the purport of which was never communicated to me) between the said *Samuel* and his son *Thornton Washington*, the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land, without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said *Pendleton*, the said *Samuel*, or the said *Thornton*, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated, it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said *Thornton Washington* (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said *Thornton*, equally with that of the said *Samuel*, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said *Pendleton*, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother *Samuel*,—namely, *George Steptoe Washington* and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part, for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund; I do for these reasons acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Item.—The balance due to me from the estate of *Bartholomew Dandridge*, deceased (my wife's brother), and which

amounted on the first day of October, 1795, to four hundred and twenty-five pounds, (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, *John Dandridge*, who was the acting executor of his father's will,) I release and acquit from the payment thereof. And the negroes, then thirty-three in number, formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year (*blank*), and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of *Mary*, widow of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge* with their increase, it is my will and desire shall continue and be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life, at the expiration of which I direct that all of them who are forty years old and upwards shall receive their freedom; and all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then be free. And, to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of these negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same. And I further direct that the heirs of the said *Bartholomew Dandridge* shall equally share the benefits arising from the services of the said negroes, according to the tenour of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item.—If *Charles Carter*, who intermarried with my niece, *Betty Lewis*, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire that my executors shall make such conveyances of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

Item.—To my nephew, *William Augustine Washington*, and his heirs (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting), a lot in the town of Manchester (opposite to Richmond), No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half-acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased *William Byrd*, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of *John Hood*, conveyed by *William Willie* and *Samuel Gordon*, trustees of the said *John Hood*, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, State of Virginia.

Item.—To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country.

I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item.—Having sold lands which I possessed in the State of Pennsylvania, and part of a tract held in equal right with *George Clinton*, late governor of New York, in the State of New York, my share of land and interest in the Great Dismal Swamp, and a tract of land which I owned in the county of Gloucester,—withholding the legal titles thereto, until the consideration money should be paid,—and having moreover leased and conditionally sold (as will appear by the tenour of the said leases) all my lands upon the Great Kenhawa, and a tract upon Difficult Run, in the county of Loudoun, it is my will and direction that whensoever the contracts are fully and respectively complied with, according to the spirit, true intent, and meaning thereof, on the part of the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, that then, and in that case, conveyances are to be made agreeably to the terms of the said contracts, and the money arising therefrom, when paid, to be vested in bank stock, the dividends whereof, as of that also which is already vested therein, is to inure to my said wife during her life; but the stock itself is to remain and be subject to the general distribution hereafter directed.

Item.—To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit the “Box made of the oak that sheltered the great Sir *William Wallace*, after the battle of Falkirk,” presented to me by his Lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request “to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me.” Whether easy or not to select the man who might comport with his Lordship’s opinion in this respect is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmith’s Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me, I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship; and in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item.—To my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. *Franklin* in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of

my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each, as they will be useful where they live, I leave one of the spy-glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms, and old and intimate friend, *Dr. Craik*, I give my bureau (or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary) and the circular chair, an appendage of my study. To *Dr. David Stuart* I give my large shaving and dressing-table, and my telescope. To the Reverend, now *Bryan, Lord Fairfax*, I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Right Reverend *Thomas Wilson*, Bishop of Sodor and Man. To General *de Lafayette* I give a pair of finely-wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law *Hannah Washington* and *Mildred Washington*, to my friends *Eleanor Stuart* *Hannah Washington* of Fairfield, and *Elizabeth Washington* of Hayfield, I give each a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To *Tobias Lear* I give the use of the farm, which he now holds in virtue of a lease from me, to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives), free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which it is to be disposed of as is hereinafter directed. To *Sally B. Haynie* (a distant relation of mine,) I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To *Sarah Green*, daughter of the deceased *Thomas Bishop*, and to *Ann Walker*, daughter of *John Alton*, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, *William Augustine Washington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, and *Samuel Washington*, I give one of the swords, or couteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises, with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important parts of my estate, in manner following:—

FIRST.—To my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, and his heirs, (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased

father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that, if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in domain than at present, should become his property,) I give and bequeath all that part thereof which is comprehended within the following limits,—viz. Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my Mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone, since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting Creek, at the Gum Spring, until it comes to a knoll opposite to an old road, which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddy-Hole Farm; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed; thence by a line of trees, to be marked rectangular, to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between *Thompson Mason* and myself; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching, with a post-and-rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting Creek; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late *Humphrey Peake* and me, to the tide water of the said creek; thence by that water to Potomac River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue Creek; and thence with the said Dogue Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford; containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion-house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

SECOND.—In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to, their father when living, who from his youth had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable for me to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful—for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to *George Fayette Washington*, and *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting Creek, lying on the River Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to *Tobias Lear*, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty-seven acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall have arrived at

the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the meantime, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

THIRD.—And whereas, it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them; more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy,—namely, *Eleanor Parke Custis*, and *George Washington Parke Custis*; and whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with *Lawrence Lewis*, a son of my deceased sister, *Betty Lewis*, by which union the inducement to provide for them both has been increased; wherefore I give and bequeath to the said *Lawrence Lewis*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis* his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew, *Bushrod Washington*, comprehended within the following description,—viz., all the land north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gum Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract, to *Bushrod Washington*, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knoll; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between *Mr. Mason* and me); thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run, by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford afore mentioned. To which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby, together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

FOURTH.—Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to *George Washington Parke Custis*, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four-Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, No. 21, in the city of Washington.

FIFTH.—All the rest and residue of my estate real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, (a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed,) I desire may be sold by my executors, at such times, and in such manner, and on such credits, (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without,) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties

concerned; and the moneys arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows,—viz. To *William Augustine Washington*, *Elizabeth Spotswood*, *Jane Thornton*, and the heirs of *Ann Ashton*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother *Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath four parts,—that is, one part to each of them. To *Fielding Lewis*, *George Lewis*, *Robert Lewis*, *Howell Lewis*, and *Betty Carter*, sons and daughters of my deceased sister *Betty Lewis*, I give and bequeath five other parts; one to each of them. To *George Steptoe Washington*, *Lawrence Augustine Washington*, *Harriot Parks*, and the heirs of *Thornton Washington*, sons and daughters of my deceased brother *Samuel Washington*, I give and bequeath other four parts; one to each of them. To *Corbin Washington*, and the heirs of *Jane Washington*, son and daughter of my deceased brother *John Augustine Washington*, I give and bequeath two parts; one to each of them. To *Samuel Washington*, *Frances Ball*, and *Mildred Hammond*, son and daughters of my brother *Charles Washington*, I give and bequeath three parts; one part to each of them. And to *George Fayette Washington*, *Charles Augustine Washington*, and *Maria Washington*, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, *George Augustine Washington*, I give one other part; that is, to each a third of that part. To *Elizabeth Parke Law*, *Martha Parke Peter*, and *Eleanor Parke Lewis*, I give and bequeath three other parts; that is, a part to each of them. And to my nephews *Bushrod Washington* and *Lawrence Lewis*, and to my ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part; that is, a third thereof to each of them. And if it should so happen that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases the heirs of such deceased person shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And, by way of advice, I recommend it to my executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property (herein directed to be sold), if from temporary causes the sale thereof should be dull, experience having fully evinced, that the price of land, especially above the falls of the river and on the western waters, has been progressively rising, and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under this clause of my will), as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the *Potomac Company*, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for; being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, (and thus,

from the nature of things, it must be, ere long,) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Enclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old vault), and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire, that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

LASTLY, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife *Martha Washington*, my nephews *William Augustine Washington*, *Bushrod Washington*, *George Steptoe Washington*, *Samuel Washington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my ward *George Washington Parke Custis* (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years), executrix and executors of this my will and testament; in the construction of which it will be readily perceived that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency in the draft; and that, although it has occupied many of my leisure hours to digest, and to throw it into its present form, it may, notwithstanding, appear crude and incorrect; but having endeavoured to be plain and explicit in all the devises, even at the expense of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and trust that no disputes will arise concerning them. But if, contrary to expectation, the case should be otherwise, from the want of legal expressions, or the usual technical terms, or because too much or too little has been said on any of the devises to be consonant with law, my will and direction expressly is, that all disputes (if unhappily any should arise) shall be decided by three impartial and intelligent men, known for their probity and good understanding; two to be chosen by the disputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by those two; which three men, thus chosen, shall, unfettered by law or legal constructions, declare their sense of the testator's intention; and such decision is, to all intents and purposes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In witness of all and of each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* It appears that the testator omitted the word "nine."

SCHEDULE OF PROPERTY

Comprehended in the foregoing Will, which is directed to be sold; and some of it conditionally is sold; with descriptive and explanatory Notes relative thereto.

IN VIRGINIA.

	Acres.	Price		
		Dollars.	Dollars.	
Loudoun County, Difficult Run -	300		6,666	<i>a</i>
Loudoun and Fauquier, Ashby's Bent	2481	10	24,810	} <i>b</i>
Chattin's Run	885	8	7,080	
Berkeley, South Fork of Bullskin -	1600			
Head of Evans's M. -	453			
In Wormeley's Line -	183			
	2236	20	44,720	<i>c</i>
Frederick, bought from Mercer -	571	20	11,420	<i>d</i>
Hampshire, on Potomac River, above B.	240	15	3,600	<i>e</i>
Gloucester, on North River -	400	about	3,600	<i>f</i>

(a) This tract, for the size of it, is valuable, more for its situation than the quality of its soil; though that is good for farming, with a considerable proportion of ground that might very easily be improved into meadow. It lies on the great road from the city of Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown, to Leesburgh and Winchester, at Difficult Bridge, nineteen miles from Alexandria, less from the city of Georgetown, and not more than three from Matildaville, at the Great Falls of Potomac. There is a valuable seat on the premises, and the whole is conditionally sold for the sum annexed in the schedule.

(b) What the selling prices of lands in the vicinity of these two tracts are, I know not; but, compared with those above the Ridge, and others below them, the value annexed will appear moderate; a less one would not obtain them from me.

(c) The surrounding land, not superior in soil, situation, or properties of any sort, sells currently at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. The lowest price is affixed to these.

(d) The observations made in the last note apply equally to this tract, being in the vicinity of them, and of similar quality, although it lies in another county.

(e) This tract, though small, is extremely valuable. It lies on Potomac River, about twelve miles above the town of Bath, or Warm Springs, and is in the shape of a horse-shoe, the river running almost around it. Two hundred acres of it are rich low grounds, with a great abundance of the largest and finest walnut trees; which, with the produce of the soil, might (by means of the improved navigation of the Potomac) be brought to a shipping port with more ease, and at a smaller expense, than that which is transported thirty miles only by land.

(f) This tract is of second-rate Gloucester low ground. It has no improvements thereon, but lies on navigable water, abounding in fish and oysters. It was received in payment of a debt (carrying interest), and

	Acres.	Price.	Dollars.	
Nansemond, near Suffolk, one third of 1119 acres - - - -	373	8	2,984	<i>g</i>
Great Dismal Swamp, my dividend thereof - - - -		about	20,000	<i>h</i>
Ohio River, Round Bottom - -	587			
Little Kenhawa - -	2314			
Sixteen miles lower down	2448			
Opposite Big Bent - -	4395			
	<hr/> 9744	10	97,440	<i>i</i>
Great Kenhawa				
Near the mouth, west -	10990			
East side, above - -	7276			
Mouth of Cole River - -	2000			
Opposite thereto - -	2950			
Burning Spring - -	125			
	<hr/> 3075			
	<hr/>		200,000	<i>h</i>

valued in the year 1789, by an impartial gentleman, at 800*l*. N.B. It has lately been sold, and there is due thereon a balance, equal to what is annexed in the schedule.

(*g*) These 373 acres are the third part of an undivided purchase made by the deceased Fielding Lewis, Thomas Walker, and myself, on full conviction that they would become valuable. The land lies on the road from Suffolk and Norfolk, touches (if I am not mistaken) some part of the navigable water of Nansemond River. The rich Dismal Swamp is capable of great improvement, and from its situation must become extremely valuable.

(*h*) This is an undivided interest, which I held in the Great Dismal Swamp Company, containing about 4000 acres, with my part of the plantation and stock thereon, belonging to the Company in the said swamp.

(*i*) These several tracts of land are of the first quality, on the Ohio River, in the parts where they are situated; being almost, if not altogether, river bottoms. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The rest are equally valuable, and sold as high, especially that which lies just below the Little Kenhawa, and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded thereby for that distance.

(*k*) These tracts are situated on the Great Kenhawa River, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them, (and of the tract containing 10,990 acres, which I have been on myself, I can assert,) that there is no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule,—that is, 200,000 dollars; and if the terms of that sale are not complied with, they will command considerably more. The tract, of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by General Andrew Lewis and myself, for and on account of a bituminous spring which it contains, of so inflammable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits, and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

MARYLAND.

				Acres.	Price.	Dollars.	
Charles County	-	-	-	600	5	3,600	<i>l</i>
Montgomery County	-	-	-	519	12	6,228	<i>m</i>

PENNSYLVANIA.

Great Meadows	-	-	-	234	6	1,404	<i>n</i>
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NEW YORK.

Mohawk River	-	-	about	1000	6	6,000	<i>o</i>
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NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

On Little Miami	-	-	-	839			
Ditto	-	-	-	977			
Ditto	-	-	-	1235			
				<hr/> 3051	5	15,255	<i>p</i>

KENTUCKY.

Rough Creek	-	-	-	3000			
Ditto, adjoining	-	-	-	2000			
				<hr/> 5000	2	10,000	<i>q</i>

(*l*) I am but little acquainted with this land, although I have once been on it. It was received (many years since) in discharge of a debt to me from Daniel Jenifer Adams, at the value annexed thereto, and must be worth more. It is very level; lies near the river Potomac.

(*m*) This tract lies about thirty miles above the city of Washington, not far from Kittoctan. It is good farming land; and by those who are well acquainted with it, I am informed that it would sell at twelve or fifteen dollars per acre.

(*n*) This land is valuable on account of its local situation and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg, and, besides a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French in 1754 was fought.

(*o*) This is the moiety of about 2000 acres, which remains unsold of 6071 acres on the Mohawk River (Montgomery county), in a patent granted to Daniel Coxe, in the township of Coxborough and Carolina, as will appear by deed from Marinus Willett and wife to George Clinton, late governor of New York, and myself. The latter sales have been at six dollars an acre, and what remains unsold will fetch that or more.

(*p*) The quality of these lands, and their situations, may be known by the surveyor's certificates, which are filed along with the patents. They lie in the vicinity of Cincinnati; one tract near the mouth of the Little Miami; another seven, and the third, ten miles up the same. I have been informed that they will command more than they are estimated at.

(*q*) For the description of these tracts in detail, see General Spotswood's

LOTS.

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

	Dollars.	
Two near the Capitol, square 634, cost 963 dollars, and with buildings - - - -	15,000	<i>r</i>
Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, the last three water lots on the Eastern Branch, in square 667, containing together 34,438 square feet, at 12 cents -	4,132	<i>s</i>

ALEXANDRIA.

Corner of Pitt and Prince streets, half an acre, laid out into buildings, three or four of which are let on ground rent, at three dollars per foot	4,000	<i>t</i>
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WINCHESTER.

A lot in the town, of half an acre, and another on the commons, of about six acres, supposed -	400	<i>u</i>
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BATH, OR WARM SPRINGS.

Two well-situated and handsome buildings, to the amount of £150 - - - - -	800	<i>v</i>
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letters, filed with the other papers relating to them. Besides the general good quality of the land, there is a valuable bank of iron ore thereon, which, when the settlement becomes more populous (and settlers are moving that way very fast), will be found very valuable, as the Rough Creek, a branch of Green River, affords ample water for furnaces and forges.

(*r*) The two lots near the Capitol, in square 634, cost me 963 dollars only. But in this price I was favoured, on condition that I should build two brick houses, three stories high each. Without this reduction, the selling prices of those lots would have cost me about 1350 dollars. These lots, with the buildings thereon, when completed, will stand me in 15,000 dollars at least.

(*s*) Lots Nos. 5, 12, 13, and 14, on the Eastern Branch, are advantageously situated on the water; and although many lots, much less convenient, have sold a great deal higher, I will rate these at 12 cents the square foot only.

(*t*) For this lot, though unimproved, I have refused 3500 dollars. It has since been laid out into proper sized lots for building on; three or four of which are let on ground rent, for ever, at three dollars a foot on the street, and this price is asked for both fronts on Pitt and Prince streets.

(*u*) As neither the lot in the town or common have any improvements on them, it is not easy to fix a price; but, as both are well situated, it is presumed that the price annexed to them in the schedule is a reasonable valuation.


(*v*) The lots in Bath (two adjoining) cost me, to the best of my recollection, between fifty and sixty pounds, twenty years ago; and the buildings thereon, one hundred and fifty pounds more. Whether property there has increased or decreased in its value, and in what condition the houses are, I am ignorant; but suppose they are not valued too high.

STOCK.


	Acres.	Price.	Dollars.	
United States 6 per cent.	-	-	3,746	
Ditto, deferred	-	-	1873	
Ditto, 3 per cent.	-	-	2946	
		——	2,500	
			6,246	<i>w</i>
Potomac Comp., 24 shares, cost each £100 ster.			10,666	<i>x</i>
James River Comp., 5 shares, each cost 100 dollars			500	<i>y</i>
Bank of Columbia, 170 shares, 40 dollars each -			6,800	} <i>z</i>
Bank of Alexandria - - - - -			1,000	

Besides 20 shares in the free school—5.

STOCK, LIVING.

One covering horse, 5 carriage horses, 4 riding horses, 6 brood mares, 20 working horses and mares, 2 covering jacks and 3 young ones, 10 she-asses, 42 working mules, 15 younger ones, 329 head of horned cattle, 640 head of sheep, and a large stock of hogs, the precise number unknown.  My manager has estimated this live stock at £7000; but I shall set it down, in order to make a round sum, at - - - 15,653

Aggregate amount - - - \$530,000

(*w*) These are the sums which are actually funded; and though no more in the aggregate than 7566 dollars, stand me in at least ten thousand pounds, Virginia money, being the amount of bonded and other debts due to me, and discharged during the war, when money had depreciated in that rate, —  and was so settled by public authority.

(*x*) The value annexed to these shares is what they have actually cost me, and is the price affixed by law; and although the present selling price is under par, my advice to the legatees (for whose benefit they are intended, especially those who can afford to lie out of the money,) is, that each should take and hold one; there being a moral certainty of a great and increasing profit arising from them in the course of a few years.

(*y*) It is supposed that the shares in the James River Company must be productive. But of this I can give no decided opinion for want of more accurate information.

(*z*) These are the nominal prices of the shares in the Banks of Alexandria and Columbia; the selling prices vary according to circumstances; but, as the stocks usually divide from eight to ten per cent. per annum, they must be worth the former, at least, so long as the banks are conceived to be secure, although from circumstances they may sometimes be below it.

The value of the live stock depends more upon the quality than quantity of the different species of it, and this again upon the demand and judgment or fancy of purchasers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, July 9, 1799.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

DEATH OF JUMONVILLE.*

THE circumstances attending the death of Jumonville have been so remarkably misunderstood and perverted by the French historians, and the character of Washington, in regard to this event, has suffered so much in their hands, that the subject demands a further consideration. The following extracts, from three of the most recent and accredited French writers, will shew in what light this point of history is still viewed by that nation. The first extract is from Flassan, whose history holds a high rank in French literature, and was written with the approbation of Napoleon, if not in consequence of his suggestion.

“M. de Jumonville,” says Flassan, “setting off with an escort of thirty men, found himself surrounded in the morning by a body of English and savages. The former fired twice in rapid succession, and killed several Frenchmen. Jumonville made a sign that he was the bearer of a letter from his commandant. The fire ceased, and they gathered around him to hear the letter. He caused the summons to be read, but the reading was not finished when the English reiterated their fire and killed him. The remaining Frenchmen of his escort were immediately made prisoners of war.”†

The next extract is from Lacretelle, whose history likewise enjoys a distinguished reputation in his native country:—

“An officer, by the name of Jumonville, was sent with an escort of thirty men. The English, ranged in a circle around him, listened to the representations which he came to make. Had they premeditated so atrocious a crime? Were they moved by a sudden impulse of hatred and ferocity? This cannot now be known; but they disgraced the New World by an outrage never before heard of among civilized people, and which excited the savages to a transport of indignation.

* See vol. i. p. 47.

† *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française, ou de la Politique de la France, &c.* Par M. de Flassan. Paris, 1811. Tom. vi. p. 28.

They assassinated Jumonville, and immolated eight soldiers, who fell bleeding by the side of their chief. They made prisoners of the rest of the escort."

To this passage M. Lacretelle adds the following note:—

"It is painful to state, that the detachment of the English who committed this atrocity was commanded by Washington. This officer, who afterwards displayed the purest virtues of the warrior, the citizen, and the sage, was then no more than twenty-two years old. He could not restrain the wild and undisciplined troops who marched under his orders."*

Montgaillard, another French historian, who has sketched with great ability and eloquence, in the form of annals, the events of the French Revolution, thus speaks of Washington, after quoting the elegant tribute to his memory by Mallet-Dupan:—

"This great man, the only person with whom no other in modern history can be compared, would have enjoyed a renown without reproach, his public career would have been without fault, his glory would have shone with an unsullied lustre, had it not been for the fatal event of the death of Jumonville—a young officer sent to him with a summons by the commandant of the French establishments on the Ohio. Washington, then a major in the forces of the King of England, commanded the post which assassinated Jumonville. He was then twenty-three [twenty-two] years of age. Far from offering any reparation, himself attacked by the brother of Jumonville, and made prisoner with his troops, he received his life and liberty on the condition of sending back the Frenchmen who escaped from the massacre; yet he violated his promise. The French could never efface the remembrance of this deplorable circumstance, whatever veneration the political life of this illustrious citizen might have merited."†

Many other French historians might be cited, who make the same statements, in almost the same words; and even very recently the writer of a life of Washington in the *Biographie Universelle*, who aims apparently to be accurate and impartial, and who has done justice for the most part to Washington's character, repeats this story of the assassination of Jumonville, adding, like Lacretelle, as the only extenuating circumstances, the youth of Washington, and the ungovernable ferocity of his soldiers.

* Histoire de France, pendant le Dix-Huitième Siècle. Par M. Lacretelle le Jeune. Paris, 1809. Tom. ii. p. 234.

† Histoire de France, depuis la Fin du Règne de Louis XVI., &c. Par l'Abbé de Montgaillard. Paris, 1828. Tom. v. p. 297.

It will be seen, by comparing the above extracts, that they are in substance precisely the same, and must unquestionably have been derived from a common source. Everything will depend on the degree of credit that is due to this single authority, upon which alone all the accounts of subsequent writers are founded. A supposed fact is not strengthened by the repetition of one historian from another, whatever merit each writer may have on the score of talents and honest intentions. All history is built on evidence, and if this is fallacious, or partial, or dubious, the deductions from it must be equally uncertain and deceptive. Of this obvious position the present instance affords a remarkable illustration.

The authority, from which all the French historians have drawn their intelligence, is a letter written by M. de Contrecoeur to the Marquis Duquesne, at that time Governor of Canada. This letter is dated June 2nd, 1754. The following is a literal translation of the part which relates to the subject in question :

“ Since the letter which I had the honour of writing to you on the 30th ultimo, in which I informed you that I expected the return of M. de Jumonville in four days, it has been reported by the savages that his party has been taken, and eight men killed, among whom is M. de Jumonville. A Canadian belonging to the party, named Mouceau, made his escape, who relates that they had built cabins in a low bottom, where they lay during a heavy rain. At seven o'clock in the morning, they saw themselves encircled on one side by the English, and by savages on the other. Two discharges of musketry were fired upon them by the English, but none by the savages. M. de Jumonville called to them by an interpreter to desist, as he had something to say to them. The firing ceased. M. de Jumonville caused the summons to be read which I had sent, admonishing them to retire, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose. Whilst this was reading, the said Mouceau saw the French gathered close around M. de Jumonville, in the midst of the English and the savages. At that time Mouceau escaped through the woods, making his way hither partly by land, and partly in a small canoe on the river Monongahela.

“ This, Sir, is all that I have been able to learn from Mouceau. The misfortune is that our people were taken by surprise. The English had surrounded and come upon them before they were seen.

“ I have this moment received a letter from M. de Chauvignerie, which I have the honour to send you herewith, from which you will see that we have certainly lost eight men, of

whom M. de Jumonville is one. The savages who were present say, that M. de Jumonville was killed by a musket-shot in the head, while he was listening to the reading of the summons, and that the English would immediately have destroyed the whole party if the savages had not rushed in before them and prevented their attempt. M. Drouillon and M. de la Force were made prisoners. We are not informed whether M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé, two cadets, are among the slain. Such is the account which we have received from the savages.”*

Here we have all the particulars, as they appear in the citations from the French historians, and almost in the same language. And this is the original and sole authority, from which have been derived all the succeeding French accounts of the conflict between the forces of Washington and Jumonville, which terminated so fatally to the latter. By what testimony is this statement of M. de Contrecoeur sustained? First, by the report of a Canadian, who fled, affrighted, at the beginning of the action; and next, by the vague rumours of the savages who were said to have been on the spot. These savages, if any there were, who returned to M. de Contrecoeur, must have come out with the French party. No such savages are mentioned as being seen by the English; and consequently, if there were any originally with the party, they escaped, like the Canadian, at the beginning of the action, and could have had no knowledge of the manner in which it was conducted. In any other case, would such testimony be taken as evidence of facts? It can certainly have no claim to be made the basis of an historical narrative, much less can it warrant severe censures upon the character of an officer who was in reality discharging his duty in the execution of his orders.

In the year 1759, five years after these events, M. Thomas published his epic, in four cantos, entitled “JUMONVILLE,” founded on the incidents, real and imaginary, of the skirmish in which his hero fell, and of the attack of M. de Villiers upon Fort Necessity, which soon followed. He states the subject of his poem to be “*L’Assassinat de M. de Jumonville en Amérique, et la Vengeance de ce Meurtre.*” It is written with extreme warmth of patriotic passion throughout, and Zimmerman, in his treatise on “NATIONAL PRIDE,” cites the “*Jumonville*” of Thomas, as a remarkable instance of the effect of national antipathy. The preface contains an ex-

* See the whole letter in the “*Mémoire contenant le Précis des Faits, &c.*” p. 106.

aggerated paraphrase of M. de Contrecoeur's letter, as the groundwork of the author's poetical fabric. With the materials thus furnished, and with the machinery of the deep and wild forests, the savages, the demon of battles, and the ghost of Jumonville, his epic speedily assumes a tragic garb, and the scenes of horror and cries of vengeance cease not till the poem closes. The general merits of this piece, as a poetical composition, and the high character of M. Thomas as a man of letters, gave it a currency in the literary world, which had the effect of perpetuating the impressions then received, and, so far, of biasing prevalent opinions, as to prevent that cautious examination into facts which is the first duty of a faithful historian.*

The official letters of Washington, now for the first time published, and also the manuscript letters of Governor Dinwiddie, throw much additional light upon this subject, and afford the means for drawing up the following accurate statement of all the essential particulars.

When the news of the capitulation of Ensign Ward to the French on the Ohio, in consequence of a military summons, reached Will's Creek, where the Virginia troops were encamped, Colonel Washington considered the frontiers to be actually invaded, and that, in compliance with the tenour of his orders, it was his duty to march forward and be prepared to meet the invading forces wherever they should present themselves. A council of war was immediately held, by which this opinion was confirmed, and it was resolved to proceed to the junction of Red-stone Creek with the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles from the fort captured by the French, construct such a fortification there as circumstances would permit, and wait for reinforcements. On the 1st of May, the little army, amounting to one hundred and fifty men, set off from Will's Creek, and advanced by slow and tedious marches into the wilderness. The Indians brought in frequent reports of their having seen French scouts in the woods, and on the 24th of May the Half-King sent a message to Washington, apprizing him that a French force, in what numbers he could not tell, was on its march to attack the English wherever they should be found, and warning him to be on his guard. He was now a few miles beyond the Great Meadows, and on receiving this intelligence he hastened back to that place, and threw up an entrenchment, determined to wait there the approach of the enemy, whom he supposed to be coming out with a hostile intention.

* Life and Writings of George Washington, by Jared Sparks, 12 vols.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Mr. Gist arrived in camp from his residence, which was about thirteen miles distant, and informed Colonel Washington that M. La Force with fifty men had been at his plantation the day before, and that on his way he had seen the tracks of the same party five miles from the encampment at the Great Meadows. Seventy-five men were immediately dispatched in pursuit of this party, but they returned without having discovered it. Between eight and nine o'clock the same night an express arrived from the Half-King, who was then six miles off, with intelligence that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, which had been traced to an obscure retreat, and that he imagined the whole party to be concealed within a short distance. Fearing this might be a stratagem of the French for attacking his camp, Colonel Washington put his ammunition in a place of safety, and, leaving a strong guard to protect it, he set out with forty men, and reached the Indian's camp a little before sunrise, having marched through a rainy and exceedingly dark night.

On counselling with the Half-King and the other Indians of his party, it was agreed that they should march together and make the attack in concert on the French. They then proceeded in single file through the woods, after the manner of the Indians, till they came upon the tracks of the two Frenchmen, when the Half-King sent two Indians forward to retrace these tracks, and discover the position of the main body. This was found to be in a very retired place, surrounded by rocks, and half a mile from the road. A disposition for attack was then formed, in which the English occupied the right wing and the Indians the left. In this manner they advanced till they came so near as to be discovered by the French, who instantly ran to their arms. Washington then ordered his men to fire, and a skirmish ensued. The firing continued on both sides about fifteen minutes, till the French were defeated, with the loss of their whole party, ten men being killed, including their commander, M. de Jumonville, one wounded, and twenty-one taken prisoners. Colonel Washington's loss was, one man killed, and two or three wounded. The Indians escaped without injury, as the firing of the French was directed chiefly against the right wing, where Washington and his men were stationed.

This is a brief and simple narrative of facts, drawn from Washington's official letters written at the time, and from the account transmitted by Governor Dinwiddie to the British ministry, which are both confirmed by the extracts from Washington's private journal published by the French government. It is worthy of remark, that this journal, kept for his own

private use, and captured the year following by the French at Braddock's defeat, accords in every essential point with his public communications to Governor Dinwiddie. Is not this accordance an irrefragable proof of the fidelity of his statement, even if his character permitted us to demand any other proof, than his single declaration? Were it possible for him to give a deceptive colouring to his public despatches, yet there could be no conceivable inducement for recording such deceptions among the broken minutes of his daily transactions, which were intended for no eye but his own.

Let it now be asked, what ground there can be for calling the death of Jumonville in this skirmish an *assassination*, or affixing to it the stigma of a crime with which it has been marked by the French historians? Is this charge authorized either by the act itself, or by the nature of the causes which led to it?

As to the act itself, it differs in no respect from that of any other commander who leads his men into an engagement, in which some of the enemy are slain. It was a conflict into which both parties entered with such means of annoyance as they could command. One of Washington's men was killed by the French, and others were wounded. There would be just as much justice in calling the death of this man an assassination as that of M. de Jumonville. It is true, as M. de Contrecoeur wrote to the Marquis Duquesne, that Washington came upon the French by surprise; but this circumstance, so far from being a matter of censure, is not only considered allowable among the stratagems of honourable warfare, but an object of praise in the commander who effects it with success. The report of the Canadian, that the reading of the summons was begun by M. de Jumonville's order, and of the savages, that he was killed while the interpreter was reading it, are manifestly fictions, as these incidents are nowhere else mentioned. Some of the prisoners said, after they were taken, that when the firing commenced the French called out to the English, with the design to make known the object of their mission, and the purport of the summons brought by M. de Jumonville. This was not told to Washington by the prisoners, nor was he informed of it till after their departure. He wrote to the Governor, however, stating that he had heard such a report, and affirming it to be false. The same particulars and the same affirmation were entered in his journal. As he was at the head of his men, and the first person seen by the French, he believed it impossible that any such call should have been made without his hearing it, which was not

the case, but, on the contrary, he saw them run to their arms and they immediately commenced firing.

In regard to the causes which led to the attack, it has been presumed by the French writers, that hostilities had not been committed, and that war did not in reality exist. Without discussing the abstract merits of the question, it is certain that the Governor and people of Virginia looked upon the frontiers as at that time in a state of war, and supposed it lawful to repel by force the French and Indians in league with them, wherever found. M. de Contrecoeur had appeared with an army before the fort on the Ohio, which was held by a party of Virginia troops, had drawn up his cannon in a menacing attitude, demanded a surrender, and threatened to take forcible possession in case his demand was disregarded. Compelled by this threat, the chief officer of the fort had capitulated. This act, on the part of the French commander, was considered as the beginning of an open war. Governor Dinwiddie, alluding to this subject in writing to the Governor of South Carolina, says, "I think there can be no greater act of hostility than taking a fort begun to be built by his Majesty's immediate commands, and this must be esteemed the first breach from the French; and what followed in taking some of their people prisoners, and killing others, was in consequence thereof." In his message to the House of Burgesses, of Virginia, August 23rd, 1754, the Governor also says, "In open contempt and violation of the treaties now subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and France, they have unjustly invaded his Majesty's lands on the river Ohio, and with an armed force taken a fort that by his Majesty's orders I had directed to be built on that river." It is moreover certain, that Colonel Washington acted in strict conformity with the orders he had received; for the Governor approved his conduct both in writing to the ministry in England and to M. Drouillon, one of the prisoners who complained of his detention. It must be inferred, therefore, that whatever may be the political aspect of this question, as concerning the relations between France and England, Washington was in no degree censurable for the course he pursued, but, on the contrary, was engaged in the discharge of his duty, by acting in strict obedience to the will and directions of the government of Virginia, under whose authority he held his commission.

The representations of the French prisoners, that Jumonville's detachment did not come out in a military capacity, but merely to bring a civil message, or summons, is well answered in Washington's letters to the Governor of Virginia.

The same reasoning is used by the Governor himself in his reply to M. Drouillon, who made to him similar representations after he reached Winchester.

“The protection due to messengers of peace,” says Governor Dinwiddie, “is so universally acknowledged, and the sacredness of their character so inviolably preserved, that even among the most barbarous nations their persons are safe and unhurt. You cannot be ignorant how much all the various tribes of Indians revere the calumet, and you must know, that a flag of truce would sooner have induced our protection and regard, than a body of men armed with the instruments of destruction. Thus, I think, the inconsistency of your appearance with your pretensions obliges me to consider you in no other light than that in which you presented yourselves. You remained several days about our camp without telling your message, nor would you do it till you were prepared for our destruction. You had neither a right to demand, nor Colonel Washington to discuss, the King my master’s title to the land on the Ohio river. Such a disquisition lay only with your superiors. But it was his duty to preserve his Majesty’s dominions in peace, and protect his subjects; and they who attempt the violation of either must acknowledge the justice of their fate if they meet with destruction. Colonel Washington assures me of the contrary to what you represent, regarding the circumstances of the action; and after it, the papers of summons and instructions to the Sieur Jumonville are incontestable proofs and justifications of his conduct, and laid him under the necessity of continuing to act as he afterwards did.”

Again, alluding to this subject, Governor Dinwiddie writes to Lord Albemarle:—“The prisoners said they were come on an embassy from their fort; but your Lordship knows that ambassadors do not come with such an armed force, without a trumpet, or any other sign of friendship; nor can it be thought they were on an embassy, by staying so long reconnoitring our small camp, but more probably, that they expected a reinforcement from their fort to cut them all off.”

It may not be possible to ascertain at this time the precise object for which the party under Jumonville was sent out. The tenour of his instructions, and the manner in which he approached Colonel Washington’s camp, make it evident enough that he deviated widely from the mode usually adopted in conveying a summons; and his conduct was unquestionably such as to create just suspicions, if not to afford a demonstration, of his hostile designs. His appearance on the route at the head of an armed force, his subsequent concealment at a

distance from the road, his remaining there for nearly two days, his sending off messengers to M. de Contrecoeur, were all circumstances unfavourable to a pacific purpose. If he came really as a peaceful messenger, and if any fault was committed by the attack upon him, it must be ascribed to his own imprudence and injudicious mode of conducting his enterprise, and not to any deviation from strict military rules on the part of Colonel Washington, who did no more than execute the duty of a vigilant officer, for which he received the unqualified approbation of his superiors and of the public.

BATTLE OF THE GREAT MEADOWS.*

A GOOD deal of dissatisfaction was expressed with some of the articles of capitulation, when they came to be made public.† The truth is, Colonel Washington had been grossly deceived by the interpreter, either through ignorance or design. An officer of his regiment, who was present at the reading and signing of the articles, wrote as follows on this point five weeks afterwards, in a letter to a friend:—

“When Mr. Vanbraam returned with the French proposals, we were obliged to take the sense of them from his mouth; it rained so hard that he could not give us a written translation of them; we could scarcely keep the candle lighted to read them by; and every officer there is ready to declare that there was no such word as *assassination* mentioned. The terms expressed were—the *death of Jumonville*. If it had

* See vol. i. p. 56.

† The following are the articles of capitulation, as published at the time from the duplicate copy retained by Colonel Washington:—

“ART. I. Nous accordons au commandant Anglais de se retirer avec toute sa garnison, pour s’en retourner paisiblement dans son pays, et lui promettons d’empêcher qu’il lui soit fait aucune insulte par nos Français, et de maintenir, autant qu’il sera en notre pouvoir, tous les sauvages qui sont avec nous.

“ART. II. Il lui sera permis de sortir, et d’emporter tout ce qui leur appartiendra, à l’exception de l’artillerie, qui nous nous réservons.

“ART. III. Que nous leur accordons les honneurs de la guerre; qu’ils sortiront tambour battant avec une petite pièce de canon, voulant bien par-là leur prouver que nous les traitons en amis.

“ART. IV. Que si-tôt les articles signés de part et d’autre, ils amèneront le pavillon Anglais.

“ART. V. Que demain à la pointe du jour, un détachement Français ira faire defiler la garnison et prendre possession du dit fort.

“ART. VI. Que comme les Anglais n’ont presque plus de chevaux ni

been mentioned, we would by all means have had it altered, as the French, during the course of the interview, seemed very condescending, and desirous to bring things to a conclusion; and, upon our insisting, altered the articles relating to stores and ammunition, which they wanted to detain; and that of the cannon, which they agreed to have *destroyed*, instead of *reserved for their use*.

“Another article which appears to our disadvantage, is that whereby we oblige ourselves not to attempt an establishment beyond the mountains. This was translated to us, *not to attempt buildings or improvements on the lands of his Most Christian Majesty*. This we never intended, as we denied he had any there, and therefore thought it needless to dispute the point.

“The last article, which relates to the hostages, is quite different from the translation of it given to us. It is mentioned *for the security of the performance of this treaty*, as well as for the return of the prisoners. There was never such an intention on our side, or mention of it made on theirs by our interpreter. Thus, by the evil intention or negligence of Vanbraam, our conduct is scrutinized by a busy world, fond of criticizing the proceedings of others, without considering circumstances, or giving just attention to reasons which might be offered to obviate their censures.”

Vanbraam was a Dutchman, and had but an imperfect knowledge of either the French or English language. How far his ignorance should be taken as an apology for his blunders, is uncertain. Although he had approved himself a good officer, yet there were other circumstances which brought his fidelity in question. Governor Dinwiddie, in giving an account of this affair to Lord Albemarle, says—“In the capi-

bœufs, ils seront libres de mettre leurs effets en cache pour venir chercher lorsqu'ils auront rejoint des chevaux; ils pourront à cette fin laisser des gardiens, en tel nombre qu'ils voudront, *aux conditions qu'ils donneront parole d'honneur de ne plus travailler à aucun établissement dans ce lieu-ci, ni de ça de la hauteur des terres, pendant une année à compter de ce jour.*

“ART. VII. Que comme les Anglais ont en leur pouvoir un officier, deux cadets, et généralement les prisonniers qu'ils nous ont faits *dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville*, et qu'ils promettent de les envoyer avec sauvegarde jusqu'au Fort Duquesne, situé sur la Belle-Rivière; et que pour sureté de cet article, *ainsi que de ce traité*, Messrs. Jacob Vanbraam et Robert Stobo, tous deux capitaines, nous seront remis en ôtage jusqu'à l'arrivée de nos Français et Canadiens ci-dessus mentionnés.”

The parts here marked in italics were misrepresented by the interpreter, or at least the meaning of them was so imperfectly and obscurely expressed by him, as to be misunderstood by Colonel Washington and his officers. The words *pendant une année à compter de ce jour*, which occur at the end of the sixth article in the copy retained by Colonel Washington, are not found in the copy of the articles printed by the French government.

tulation they made use of the word *assassination*, but Washington, not knowing French, was deceived by the interpreter, who was a poltroon, and though an officer with us, they say he has joined the French." How long Vanbraam was detained as a hostage is not known, but he never returned to Virginia, and it was the general belief that he practised an intentional deception in his attempts to interpret the articles of capitulation. But whether this be true or not, the consequence was unfortunate, as the articles in their written form implied an acknowledgment of the charge of assassinating Jumonville. The French writers, regarding this as an authentic public document, were confirmed by it in their false impressions, derived from M. de Contrecoeur's letter, concerning the fate of Jumonville; and thus a grave historical error, inflicting a deep injustice on the character of Washington, has been sanctioned by eminent names, and perpetuated in the belief of the reading portion of the French people.

M. de Villiers, the commander of the French forces, was the brother of Jumonville. His account of the march from Fort Duquesne and the transactions at the Great Meadows was published by the French government, in connexion with what purported to be extracts from Colonel Washington's journal taken at Braddock's defeat. Many years afterwards, some person sent to Washington a translation of these papers, upon which he made a brief comment, which it is proper to introduce in this place, after inserting an extract from that part of M. de Villier's narrative which relates to the affair of the Great Meadows.

"As we had no knowledge of the place," says M. de Villiers, "we presented our flank to the fort, when they began to fire on us with their cannon. Almost at the same instant that I saw the English on the right coming towards us, the Indians as well as ourselves set up a loud cry, and we advanced upon them; but they did not give us time to fire before they retreated behind an intrenchment adjoining the fort. We then prepared ourselves to invest the fort. It was advantageously situated in a meadow, and within musket-shot of the wood. We approached as near to them as possible, and not uselessly expose his Majesty's subjects. The fire was spirited on both sides, and I placed myself in the position where it seemed to me most likely a sortie would be attempted. If the expression may be allowed, we almost extinguished the fire of their cannon by our musketry.

"About six o'clock in the evening, the fire of the enemy increased with renewed vigour, and continued till eight. We returned it briskly. We had taken effectual measures to se-

cure our posts and keep the enemy in the fort all night; and after having put ourselves in the best position possible, we called out to the English that if they desired a parley with us we would cease firing. They accepted the proposal. A captain came out, and I sent M. de Mercier to receive him, and went to the Meadow myself, where we told him that, not being at war, we were willing to save them from the cruelties to which they would expose themselves on the part of the savages by an obstinate resistance; that we could take from them all the hope of escape during the night; that we consented, nevertheless, to shew them favour, as we had come only to avenge the assassination which they had inflicted upon my brother, in violation of the most sacred laws, and to oblige them to depart from the territories of the King. We then agreed to accord to them the capitulation, a copy of which is hereunto annexed.

“We considered that nothing could be more advantageous to the nation than this capitulation, as it was unnatural in the time of peace to make prisoners. We made the English consent to sign that they had assassinated my brother in his camp. We took hostages for the French who were in their power; we caused them to abandon the lands belonging to the King; we obliged them to leave their cannon, which consisted of nine pieces; we had destroyed all their horses and cattle, and made them sign that the favour we granted them was only to prove how much we desired to treat them as friends. That very night the articles were signed, and I received in camp the hostages whom I had demanded.

“On the 4th, at the dawn of day, I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort. The garrison defiled, and the number of their dead and wounded excited my pity, in spite of the resentment which I felt for the manner in which they had taken away the life of my brother.

“The savages, who in everything had adhered to my wishes, claimed the right of plunder, but I prevented them. The English, struck with a panic, took to flight, and left their flag and one of their colours. I demolished the fort, and M. de Mercier caused the cannon to be broken, as also the one granted by the capitulation, the English not being able to take it away. I hastened my departure, after having burst open the casks of liquor, to prevent the disorders which would otherwise infallibly have followed. One of my Indians took ten Englishmen, whom he brought to me, and whom I sent back by another.”—*Mémoire contenant le Précis des Faits, &c.*, p. 147.

Such is the statement of M. de Villiers. The incident mentioned at the close, of an Indian taking ten Englishmen, is so ludicrous, that it must necessarily cast a shade of doubt

over the whole, and cause us to suspect the writer's accuracy of facts and soundness of judgment, whatever we may think of the fertility of his imagination, and his exuberant self-complacency. Washington's remarks on this extract were communicated in the following letter to a gentleman, who had previously written to him on the subject:—

“Sir,—I am really sorry that I have it not in my power to answer your request in a more satisfactory manner. If you had favoured me with the journal a few days sooner, I would have examined it carefully, and endeavoured to point out such errors as might conduce to your use, my advantage, and the public satisfaction; but now it is out of my power.

“I had no time to make any remarks upon that piece, which is called my journal. The enclosed are observations on the French notes. They are of no use to me separated, nor will they, I believe, be of any to you; yet I send them, unconnected and incoherent, as they were taken, for I have no opportunity to correct them.

“In regard to the journal, I can only observe in general, that I kept no regular one during that expedition; rough minutes of occurrences I certainly took, and find them as certainly and strangely metamorphosed; some parts left out which I remember were entered, and many things added that never were thought of; the names of men and things egregiously miscalled; and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect and nonsensical; yet I will not pretend to say that the little body who brought it to me has not made a literal translation, and a good one.

“Short as my time is, I cannot help remarking on Villiers' account of the battle of, and transactions at, the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges that we sustained the attack warmly from ten in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on this account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might, also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vainglory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would

consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained. That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word *assassination*, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss*, of the *Sieur Jumonville*. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation.

“That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away is equally certain, as we had every horse belonging to the camp killed or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring anything off that our shoulders were not able to bear; and to wait there was impossible, for we had scarce three days’ provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply; yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false; notwithstanding they did, contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage, and commit all kinds of irregularity, we were with them until ten o’clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage, to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off. When we had got about a mile from the place of action, we missed two or three of the wounded, and sent a party back to bring them up: this is the party he speaks of. We brought them all safe off, and encamped within three miles of the Meadows. These are circumstances, I think, that make it evidently clear that we were not very apprehensive of danger. The colours he speaks of as left were, a large flag, of immense size and weight; our regimental colours were brought off, and are now in my possession. Their gasconades and boasted clemency must appear in the most ludicrous light to every considerate person who reads Villiers’ journal. Such preparations for an attack; such vigour and intrepidity as he pretends to have conducted his march with; such revenge as by his own account appeared in his attack, considered, it will hardly be thought that compassion was his motive for calling a parley. But to sum up the whole, Mr. Villiers pays himself no great compliment in saying, we were struck with a panic when matters were adjusted. We surely could not be afraid without cause, and if we had cause after capitulation, it was a reflection upon himself.

“I do not doubt but your good nature will excuse the bad-

ness of my paper and the incoherence of my writing; think you see me in a public house, in a crowd, surrounded with noise, and you hit my case. You do me particular honour in offering your friendship; I wish I may be so happy as always to merit it, and deserve your correspondence, which I should be glad to cultivate."

In September, somewhat more than two months after the capitulation, Captain Mackay wrote to Washington from Will's Creek, stating that he had recently returned from Philadelphia, and adding—"I had several disputes about our capitulation, but I satisfied every person that mentioned the subject as to the articles in question, that they were owing to a bad interpreter, and contrary to the translation made to us when we signed them."

No more needs be said to shew the true light in which the articles of capitulation were understood by Washington and his officers. It is not to be inferred, however, that M. de Villiers was knowingly guilty of an imposition in regard to the clause relating to the death of his brother. On the contrary, it seems more than probable that he really believed the report of the assassination, for he had received no other intelligence or explanation than the rumour brought to M. de Contrecoeur by the Canadian and the savages. This fact, however, does not lessen the injury done to Washington in seriously using the articles of capitulation as an historical document to sanction a charge equally untrue in all its essential particulars and unjust in its application.

It was a subject of mortification to Colonel Washington that Governor Dinwiddie refused to ratify the capitulation in regard to the French prisoners. The Governor thus explained his conduct in a letter to the Board of Trade:—"The French, after the capitulation entered into with Colonel Washington, took eight of our people, and exposed them to sale, and missing thereof, sent them prisoners to Canada. On hearing of this, I detained the seventeen prisoners, the officer, and two cadets, as I am of opinion, after they were in my custody, Washington could not engage for their being returned. I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and the two cadets for the two hostages they have of ours." This course of proceeding was not suitable to the principles of honour and sense of equity entertained by Colonel Washington, but he had no further control of the affair.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES.*

THE stamp act, after a violent opposition in parliament, was passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. The news, and the act itself, first arrived at Boston, when the bells were muffled, and rung a funeral peal. The act was first hawked about the streets, with a death's head affixed to it, and styled "The folly of England, and the ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace. The stamps were seized and destroyed, unless brought by men of war, or kept in fortified places; those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as sided with government on this occasion, had their houses plundered and burnt.

The stamp act having been repealed, a *declaratory* bill was passed, setting forth the authority of the mother country over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes, *in all cases whatever*, which occasioned as much dissatisfaction as the stamp act, and being followed by Mr. Charles Townshend's plan of imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, imported into America, a ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp act took place throughout the continent. The populace renewed their outrages, and those of superior station entered into regular combinations against it. Disputes took place between the governors and general assemblies, and a violent tumult occurred at Boston.

A vessel belonging to a capital trader had been seized in this town, in consequence of his having neglected some of the new regulations; and being taken under the protection of a man-of-war, at that time lying in the harbour, the populace attacked the houses of the commissioners of excise, broke their windows, destroyed the collectors' boats, and obliged the custom-house officers to take refuge in Castle William, situated at the entrance of the harbour.

In the midst of this disposition, news arrived that the agent for the colony had not been allowed to deliver their petition to the king; it having been objected, that the assembly without the governor was not sufficient authority. This did not contribute to allay the ferment; and it was further augmented by the news, that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe.

* See Vol. I., p. 136.

On the 5th March, 1770, a scuffle happened between some soldiers and a part of the town's-people, in which several of the latter were killed and wounded. The whole province now arose in arms, and the soldiers were compelled to retire to Castle William.

All the newly-laid duties were now repealed, excepting that on tea, which was opposed with the same violence as against all the rest.

In 1773, three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston, when a number of people, dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded them, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea; after which they retired, without making any further disturbance, or doing any more damage.

This destruction of the tea was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. The destruction of Boston was then resolved on, and all the colonies united in espousing the cause of the Bostonians. The affair at Lexington and Concord followed, and the battle of Bunker's Hill commenced the war which ensued, and eventually resulted in the independence of the colonies.

AFFAIR AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.*

GENERAL Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith and Captain Pitcairn, to destroy the stores, and, as it was reported, to seize Messrs. Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the Congress. They set out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met on the road, that they might not be discovered. But, notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of bells and firing of guns as they went along, soon gave them notice that the country was alarmed. About five in the morning, they had reached Lexington, at fifteen miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising. An officer called out to them to disperse; but some shots, it is said, being at that moment fired from a house in the neighbourhood, the military made a discharge, which killed and wounded several of the militia. The detach-

* See vol. i. p. 136.

ment then proceeded to Concord, where, having destroyed the stores, they were encountered by the Americans; and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides.

The purpose of their expedition being thus accomplished, it was necessary for the King's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept upon them from Concord and Lexington. Here their ammunition was totally expended, and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, luckily met them. The Americans, however, continued their attack with great fury, and the British would have still been in the utmost danger, had it not been for two field-pieces, which Lord Percy had brought with him. By these, the impetuosity of the Americans was checked, and the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of 250 killed and wounded; that of the Americans was about 60.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

IN the neighbourhood of Charlestown, a place on the northern shore of the Peninsula, on which Boston stands, is a high ground called Bunker's Hill, which overlooks and commands the whole town of Boston. In the night of the 16th of June, the provincials took possession of this place, and worked with such indefatigable diligence, that, to the astonishment of their enemies, they had, before daylight, almost completed a redoubt, with a strong intrenchment reaching half a mile eastward, as far as the river Mystic. After this, they were obliged to sustain a heavy and incessant fire from the ships and floating batteries with which Charlestown neck was surrounded, as well as the cannon that could reach the place from Boston; in spite of which, however, they continued their work, and finished it before mid-day. A considerable body of foot was then landed at the foot of Bunker's Hill, under the command of Generals Howe and Pigot; the former being appointed to attack the lines, and the latter the redoubt. The Americans, however, having the advantage of the ground, as well as of their intrenchments, poured down such incessant volleys, as threatened the whole body with destruction; and General Howe was for a little time left almost alone, all his officers being killed or wounded. The provincials in the meantime had taken possession of Charlestown, so that General Pigot was obliged to

contend with them in that place, as well as in the redoubt. The consequence was, that he was over-matched, his troops were thrown into disorder, and he would, in all probability, have been defeated, had not General Clinton advanced to his relief; upon which, the attack was renewed with such fury that the provincials were driven beyond the neck that leads to Charlestown. In the heat of the engagement, the British troops set fire to the town of Charlestown, which quickly obliged the provincials to yield, after they were deprived of that shelter. The loss on the British side amounted to about 1000, among whom were 19 officers killed, and 70 wounded; that of the Americans did not exceed 500.

The British troops claimed the victory in this engagement with justice, though it must be allowed that it was dearly bought; and the Americans boasted that the real advantages were on their side, as they had so much weakened the enemy, that they durst not afterwards venture out of their intrenchments.

APPENDIX II.

RETURNS OF THE ARMY.

Table exhibiting a Summary of the Returns of the Army under the command of General Washington during the years 1775 and 1776.

	Commissioned Officers and Staff.	Non-commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.						Artillery.	Militia of Massachusetts.
			Present, fit for duty.	Sick present.	Sick absent.	On furlough.	On command.	Total.		
1775.										
July 19 ..	1119	1768	13,743	1108	490	376	1053	16,770	585	
July 29 ..	1117	1823	13,899	1330	690	287	692	16,898		
Aug. 5 ..	1178	1910	13,735	1943	750	255	1011	17,694	586	
Aug. 12 ..	1234	2023	14,544	2131	977	187	1124	18,963		
Aug. 18 ..	1231	2007	14,442	2218	1006	220	1174	19,060		
Aug. 26 ..	1242	2018	14,701	2179	1071	225	1127	19,303	596	
Sept. 2 ...	1226	2028	14,868	2221	985	262	1043	19,379		
Sept. 9 ...	1303	2107	14,766	2026	988	342	1410	19,532		
Sept. 23 ..	1225	2034	14,330	1886	931	468	1750	19,365	590	
Oct. 17 ..	1191	1988	13,923	1476	952	746	2400	19,497		
Nov. 18 ..	1128	1925	12,741	1472	790	1012	3063	19,078	579	
Nov. 25 ..	1068	1866	12,065	1464	805	1626	2990	18,950		
Dec. 30 ..	1088	1736	11,752	1206	542	1013	2273	16,786	590	3231
1776.										
Jan. 8 ...	979	1150	10,209	705	233	1044	1318	13,509		
Jan. 21 ..	861	1167	9,424	1174	194	714	1171	12,677		
Jan. 28 ..	850	1194	9,799	1422	245	420	1248	13,134		
Feb. 4 ...	896	992	8,863	1153	270	99	1233	11,618		
Feb. 18 ..	1245	1452	13,396	1687	364	49	1569	17,065	622	
Feb. 25 ..	1228	1515	14,123	2056	389	63	1845	18,276		6287
March 2 ..	1217	1521	14,140	2398	367	49	1574	18,528	635	6869
March 9 ..	1254	1535	14,232	2445	330	29	1374	18,410	640	6838
April 28 ..	672	879	8,101	602	632	52	848	10,235		
May 2 ...	597	758	6,900	618	279	51	995	8,843		
May 12 ...	589	722	6,641	547	352	66	1122	8,728	513	
May 19 ...	592	757	6,717	577	303	61	1109	8,767	527	
June 12 ...	595	772	6,749	659	250	63	1147	8,868	599	
June 28 ..	677	870	7,389	744	231	73	1931	10,368	585	
July 6 ...	865	1096	8,802	1077	239	61	1742	11,921*	588	
July 13 ..	1096	1379	10,319	1447	257	56	2590	14,669*		
July 20 ..	1100	1406	10,106	1798	269	70	2623	14,866*		
July 27 ..	1108	1474	9,516	2296	254	86	3063	15,215*	588	
Aug. 3 ...	1225	1502	10,514	3039	629	97	2946	17,225*	585	
Sept. 21 ..	2027	2501	15,666	4418	3379	93	3736	27,292*	543	
Sept. 28 ..	1791	2182	14,759	4175	3344	122	3479	25,879*	531	
Oct. 5 ...	1808	2317	14,783	4792	3327	131	4115	27,148*	580	
Dec. 22 ..	677	729	4,707	680	2590	87	2952	11,016		

The above table is condensed from the original returns of the adjutant-general to the Commander-in-chief. These returns, though commonly made at stated times, were necessarily imperfect, on account of the fluctuating condition of the army. They embrace such troops only, as were under the immediate command of General Washington, and not those that were in the northern or southern departments, nor the militia acting under the authority of particular States, and within the limits of those States.

On the 30th of March, 1776, after the main body of the army had marched to New York, five regiments of Continental troops remained in Boston, amounting to two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight men; and there were at the same time six thousand six hundred and ninety-eight militia, who were soon disbanded.

The first returns of militia at New York were made out on the 6th of July, and were included in the returns of the Continental army. This plan was followed till October 5th, so that it is not easy to tell within that period the respective numbers of each. The Continental troops, however, averaged from ten to twelve thousand. The aggregates to which asterisks are affixed include both the Continental troops and militia. There seems to be a deficiency in the returns for September 28th, as the aggregate is considerably smaller than in the week preceding and the week following.

Colonel Knox's regiment of artillery was diminished in March, by a company left at Boston. It was enlarged again in June, by the addition of Captain Hamilton's company of New York artillery.

The first return of cavalry was on the 28th of September, when one hundred and sixty light-horse were returned.

PRISONERS.

IN the number of prisoners taken during the campaign of 1776, the British had considerably the advantage of the Americans. The following is a summary of the returns made out by the British Commissary-general of Prisoners, and forwarded by General Howe to General Washington.

When and where taken.	Commissioned Officers.							Staff.								Privates.
	Generals.	Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplain.	Adjutants.	Quartermasters.	Surgeons.	Commissaries.	Engineer.	Wagon-master.	Volunteers.	
Long Island, August 27th . .	3	3	4	3	18	43	11	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	2	1006
Island of N. York, Sept. 15th, 16th,	-	1	2	3	4	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	354
White Plains, October 28th . .	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	35
Fort Washington, November 16th,	-	4	4	5	46	107	31	1	2	2	5	2	1	1	-	2607
Fort Lee, November 20th,	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	99
Total	3	8	10	11	69	160	43	1	3	4	11	2	1	1	2	4101

From these returns it appears that the number of American officers taken during the campaign was 304; staff, 25; privates, 4101;—total, 4430.

The number of persons missing from the British ranks, whom General Howe reported, on the 21st of September, as supposed to be prisoners with the Americans, specifying each regiment to which they belonged, was, 43 officers and 848 privates; making a total of 891.

This return he acknowledged to be imperfect, since in some instances he could not ascertain the number contained in a regiment before the captures from it were made, as in the case of the troops taken in the transports entering Boston harbour. It is probable, however, that the return did not vary much from the truth. But it does not embrace 73 prisoners taken by Commodore Hopkins at Providence Island, and a few others taken at different posts. There were afterwards taken, also, 36 at Mamaronec, and 918 at Trenton, and others in various skirmishes, whose numbers are not specified.

The aggregate of the above numbers of British prisoners is 1918, leaving a balance of 2512 against the Americans. This amount should probably be reduced by two or three hundred, on account of prisoners taken in small parties, of which no returns have been preserved. General Howe's returns specify the whole number actually in his hands.

The Canada prisoners formed a separate item, and belonged

in part to the preceding year. Sir Guy Carleton sent to New York fifty-one commissioned officers, and three hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and privates, making in all 424, who were discharged on their parole, and landed by order of General Howe at Elizabethtown. These were the troops captured at Quebec and the Three Rivers.

For these prisoners the Americans had more than an equivalent.

Ethan Allen and Arnold had taken at Ticonderoga fifty, at Crown Point thirteen, and at St. John's twenty; total, 83.

At Chamblee the number of British and Canadians taken was one major, two captains, three lieutenants, three staff, eighty-three privates; total, 92.

At St. John's, by capitulation to General Montgomery, one major, ten captains, eighteen lieutenants, five ensigns, five staff, British, and thirty-seven Canadian officers of various ranks, about four hundred and fifty privates of the regulars, and one hundred Canadian volunteers; total, 626.

At the capture of General Prescott and the fleet near Sorel, one general, one major, five captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two staff, one hundred and twenty-nine privates; total, 141.

SUMMARY.

Taken at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and St. John's	83
“ “ Chamblee	92
“ “ St. John's	626
“ “ in the fleet near Sorel	141
Total	942

Hence the whole number of British prisoners taken at the posts on Lake Champlain and in Canada was 942, making an excess of 518 in favour of the Americans.

The general results, at the end of the year 1776, were as follows:—

American prisoners in the possession of the British, taken by the army under General Howe	4430
Taken in Canada, and sent home on parole by General Carleton	424
Total	4854

British prisoners in the possession of the Americans, captured from General Howe's army	1918
Taken at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and in Canada	942

Total 2860

The difference between the two aggregates is 1994 in favour of the British.

The above statements have been drawn from the best returns that I have been able to find; and although they are not supposed to be precisely accurate, yet they approximate very near to the truth.

The prisoners taken at the Cedars are not here included. According to a return of the British commissary of prisoners, they consisted of two majors, nine captains, twenty subalterns, and four hundred privates, being in all 431. They had been released upon an agreement, that the same number of British prisoners should be exchanged for them. Congress refused to ratify this agreement, and the subject was still in dispute.

BRITISH FORCES IN AMERICA AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE WAR.

As many of General Washington's movements and plans depended on what he supposed to be the strength of the enemy, a view of the general state of the British army at different stages of the war will contribute much to a just understanding of various parts of his correspondence. The following summaries have been copied from the original returns in the STATE PAPER OFFICE. The numbers represent *effective* troops:—

State of the Army, June 3rd, 1777.

<i>Jersey.</i>			<i>New York.</i>		
British Artillery	- -	385	British Infantry	- - -	1513
" Cavalry	- -	710	" Artillery	- -	20
" Infantry	- -	8361	Hessian Infantry	- -	1778
Hessian "	- -	3300			
Anspach "	- -	1043			
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		13799			3311

<i>Staten Island.</i>			<i>Rhode Island.</i>		
British Infantry	- -	515	British Infantry	- - -	1064
" Artillery	- -	11	Hessian "	- - -	1496
Waldeck Infantry	- -	330	British Artillery	- -	71
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		856			2631

Paulus Hook.

British Infantry - - 360

Total of the Army, 20957

Foreign troops in America, June 24th, 1777.

Hessian	-	-	-	12777
Anspach	-	-	-	1293
Waldeck	-	-	-	679

Total, 14749

State of the Army, March 26th, 1778.

<i>Philadelphia.</i>	<i>New York.</i>	<i>Rhode Island.</i>
British - 13078	British - 3486	British - 1610
German - 5202	German - 3689	German - 2116
Provincial 1250	Provincial 3281	Provincial 44
<hr/> 19530	<hr/> 10456	<hr/> 3770

Total of the Army, 33756.

August 15th, 1778.

New York - - - - 15886	Long Island - - - - 8117
Staten Island - - - 3244	Rhode Island - - - 5789
Paulus Hook - - - 456	With Lord Howe's Fleet 572
<hr/> 19586	<hr/> 14478

Total, 34064.

November 1st, 1778.

New York - - - - 9568	Paulus Hook - - - 419
Long Island - - - 5630	Providence Island - - 225
Staten Island - - - 972	Rhode Island - - - 5740
<hr/> 16170	<hr/> 6384

Total, 22554.

The diminution since the preceding return was occasioned by detachments sent to the West Indies, Florida, and Halifax.

On the 21st of January, 1779, the following regulations were adopted for the Provincials in the King's service:—1. An allowance to every regiment of forty pounds a-year contingent money. 2. Three guineas for every recruit approved of and mustered by the inspector. 3. One guinea for each deserter apprehended.

February 15th, 1779.

New York - - - -	9100	Nova Scotia - - - -	3011
Long Island - - - -	5714	Georgia - - - - -	4330
Staten Island - - - -	1619	Bermuda - - - - -	240
Paulus Hook - - - -	387	Providence Island - - -	240
Rhode Island - - - -	5642		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	22462		7821
		Total,	30283.

May 1st, 1779.

New York - - - -	9123	Halifax - - - - -	3677
Long Island - - - -	6056	Georgia - - - - -	4794
Staten Island - - - -	1344	West Florida - - - -	1703
Paulus Hook - - - -	383	Bermuda and Providence	
Hoboken - - - - -	264	Island - - - - -	470
Rhode Island - - - -	5644		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	22814		10644
		Total,	33458.

December 1st, 1779.

New York and its	{ British - 13848	Halifax and	
Dependencies	{ German - 10836	Penobscot - -	3460
	{ Provincial 4072	Georgia - - -	3930
	<hr/>	West Florida -	1787
	28756	Bermuda and	
		Providence Island	636
			<hr/>
		Total,	38569.
			9813

May 1st, 1780.

<i>New York.</i>	<i>South Carolina.</i>	<i>Nova Scotia.</i>
British - - - 7711	- - - 7041	- - - 2298
German - - - 7451	- - - 3018	- - - 572
Provincials - 2162	- - - 2788	- - - 638
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
17324	12847	3508
 <i>East Florida.</i>	 <i>West Florida.</i>	 <i>Georgia.</i>
British - - - 536	- - - 590	- - - 862
German - - - —	- - - 547	- - - 1016
Provincials - —	- - - 316	- - - —
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
536	1453	1878
 <i>Bermuda.</i>	 <i>Providence Island.</i>	
Provincials - 326	- - - 130	
		Total,
		38002.

August 1st, 1780.

New York - - - -	19115	West Florida - - -	1261
South Carolina - -	6589	Nova Scotia - - -	3524
Georgia - - - -	1756	Bermuda - - - -	204
East Florida - - -	453	Providence Island -	118
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	27913		5107

Total, 33020.

December 1st, 1780.

New York - - - -	17729	West Florida - - -	1261
On an Expedition -	2274	Nova Scotia - - -	3167
South Carolina - -	7384	Bermuda - - - -	387
Georgia - - - -	968	Providence Island -	143
East Florida - - -	453		<hr/>
	<hr/>		4958
	28808		

Total, 33766.

The whole number of *Provincial Forces* at this time in the British army was 8954.

May 1st, 1781.

New York - - - - -	12257	Georgia - - - -	887
On an expedition - -	1782	East Florida - -	438
“ under General Leslie	2278	West Florida - -	1185
“ “ Arnold	1553	Nova Scotia - -	3130
“ “ Phillips	2116	Bermuda - - -	366
South Carolina - - -	7254	Providence Island	128
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	27240		6134

Total, 33374.

August 15th, 1781.

Troops under Cornwallis in Virginia.

British - - - - -	5541	Provincials - - - -	1137
Germans - - - - -	2148	On Detachments - -	607
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	7689		1744

Total, 9433.

State of the army September 1st, 1781.

<i>New York.</i>	<i>Virginia.</i>	<i>South Carolina.</i>
British - - - 5932	- - - 5544	- - - 5024
Germans - - - 8629	- - - 2204	- - - 1596
Provincials - 2140	- - - 1137	- - - 3155
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
16701	8885	9775

<i>Georgia.</i>	<i>East Florida.</i>	<i>West Florida.</i>
British - - -	- - - 546	- - - 374
German - - - 486	- - - —	- - - 558
Provincials - - 598	- - - —	- - - 211
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
1084	546	1143

<i>Nova Scotia.</i>	<i>Providence Island.</i>	<i>Bermuda.</i>
British - - - 1745	- - - 135	- - - 354
German - - - 562		
Provincials - - 1145		
<hr/>		
3452		

Total, 42075.

June 1st, 1782.

New York - - - 17229	Bermuda - - - 344
South Carolina - - 6973	Providence Island - - 244
East Florida - - - 612	West Florida - - - 852
Georgia - - - 1799	Late Garrison at York-
Nova Scotia - - - 3610	town - - - 8806
<hr/>	<hr/>
30223	10246

Total, 40469.

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.

[The following is extracted from an article, by LORD BROUGHAM, in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 137.]

How grateful the relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character [Napoleon], his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age,—the only one upon whom an epithet so thoughtlessly lavished by men to foster the crimes of their worst enemies may be innocently and justly bestowed! In WASHINGTON we truly behold a marvellous contrast to almost every one of the endowments and the vices which we have been contemplating, and which are so well fitted to excite a mingled admiration, and sorrow, and abhorrence. With none of that brilliant genius which dazzles ordinary minds; with not even any remarkable quickness of apprehension; with knowledge less than almost all persons in the middle ranks, and many well-educated of the humbler classes possess; this eminent person is presented to our observation clothed in attributes as modest, as unpretending, as little calculated to strike or to astonish, as if he had passed unknown through some secluded region of private life. But he had a judgment sure and sound; a steadiness of mind which never suffered any passion, or even any feeling, to ruffle its calm; a strength of understanding which worked rather than forced its way through all obstacles,—removing or avoiding rather than overleaping them. His courage, whether in battle or in council, was as perfect as might be expected from this pure and steady temper of soul. A perfectly just man, with a thoroughly firm resolution never to be misled by others, any more than by others overawed; never to be seduced or betrayed, or hurried away by his own weaknesses or self-delusions, any more than by other men's arts; nor ever to be disheartened by the most complicated difficulties, any more than to be spoilt on the giddy heights of fortune—such was this great man,—whether we regard him sustaining alone the whole weight of campaigns, all but desperate, or gloriously

terminating a just warfare by his resources and his courage—presiding over the jarring elements of his political council, alike deaf to the storms of all extremes,—or directing the formation of a new government for a great people—the first time that so vast an experiment had ever been tried by man,—or finally retiring from the supreme power to which his virtue had raised him over the nation he had created, and whose destinies he had guided as long as his aid was required—retiring with the veneration of all parties, of all nations, of all mankind, in order that the rights of men might be conserved, and that his example never might be appealed to by vulgar tyrants. This is the consummate glory of the great American; a triumphant warrior where the most sanguine had a right to despair; a successful ruler in all the difficulties of a course wholly untried: but a warrior whose sword only left its sheath when the first law of our nature commanded it to be drawn; and a ruler who, having tasted of supreme power, gently and unostentatiously desired that the cup might pass from him, nor would suffer more to wet his lips than the most solemn and sacred duty to his country and his God required!

To his latest breath did this great patriot maintain the noble character of a Captain the patron of Peace, and a Statesman the friend of Justice. Dying, he bequeathed to his heirs the sword which he had worn in the War for Liberty, charging them “never to take it from the scabbard but in self-defence, or in defence of their country and her freedom; and commanding them, that when it should thus be drawn, they should never sheathe it nor ever give it up, but prefer falling with it in their hands to the relinquishment thereof”—words, the majesty and simple eloquence of which are not surpassed in the oratory of Athens and Rome. It will be the duty of the Historian and the Sage in all ages to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of WASHINGTON!

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